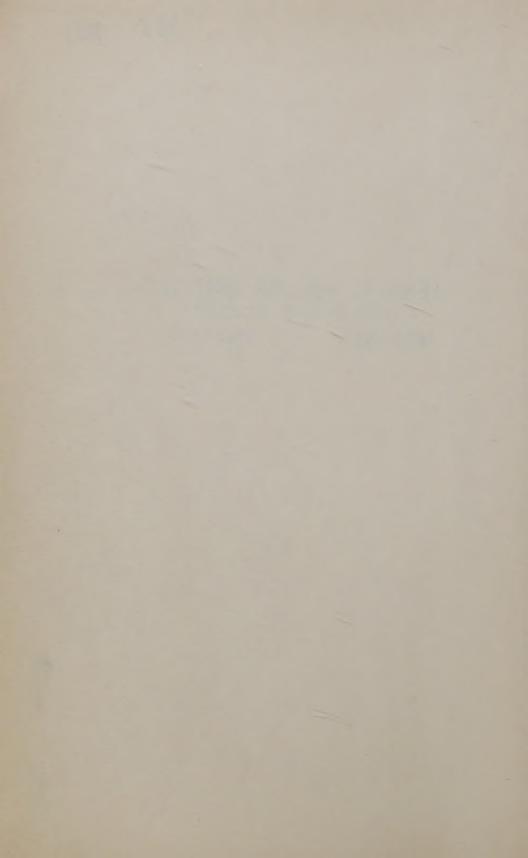
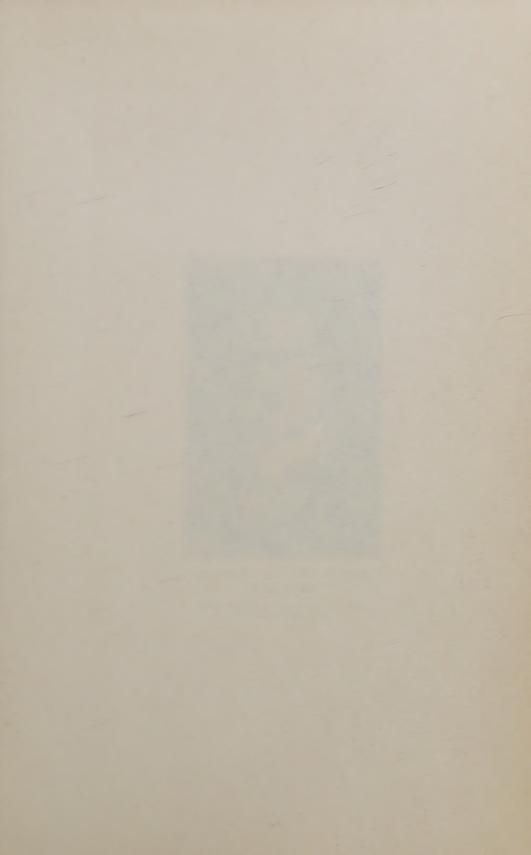
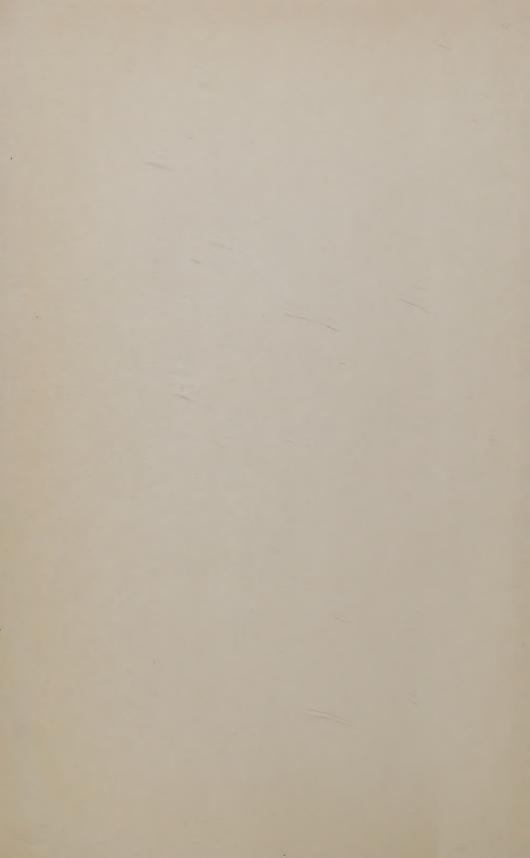


LENNOX AND ADDINGTON
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
NAPANEE - ONTARIO









CHARLES CANNIFF JAMES, LL.D., C.M.G. Born at Napanee, June 14, 1863. Died June 23, 1916.



JOHN SOLOMON CARTWRIGHT.



MARSHALL SPRING BIDWELL.



GEO. H. DETLOR.



PETER PERRY.

Candidates for the County of Lennox and Addington for Election to the Legislative Assembly, 1836.

# LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

# PAPERS AND RECORDS.

VOLS. VII & VIII. (DOUBLE NUMBER.)

# "THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF 1836"

WITH INTRODUCTION

By WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL LL.D., F. R. Hist., etc.

PRICE, 40 CENTS.

NAPANEE, ONTARIO.

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Candidates for the County of Lennox & Addington	
for election to the Legislative Assembly, 1836	Frontispiece

## CHRONOLOGY.

#### PREFACE

It is with no small degree of pride that the Executive Board presents to the members of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society this number of its publications. While our Empire is engaged in a life and death struggle for the preservation of its national ideals, it is well for us occasionally to call to mind the part our forefathers played in securing for us the rights and privileges which we now enjoy. Not the least among these blessings is responsible Government. Among the documents presented to our Society by the late Dr. James Canniff a few years before he died was a pamphlet published eighty years ago containing a verbatim report of the various addresses delivered in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada upon the motion for the adoption of the report of the Select Committee appointed to deal with the question of the duties and responsibilities of the Executive Council. If we did nothing more than reproduce the pamphlet we would feel that we were rendering a great service to our members and all others reached by our publications. We are singularly fortunate in being able to publish at the same time an introduction from the pen of the Hon. William Renwick Riddell, LL.D., F. R. Hist. Soc., one of our most distinguished Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature for Ontario. It was originally planned that the biographical notes upon those participating in the debate should be written by the late Charles Canniff James, C.M.G., LL.D., but his untimely death occurred before he was able to prepare the manuscript. It is most regrettable that we were unable to secure this contribution from Dr. James, who always took the deepest interest in all matters appertaining to his native town, and on many occasions rendered our Society most valuable assistance. No town in Ontario can boast of a nobler son than he, who unreservedly dedicated his life to his country's service, and at all times wisely and faithfully discharged the onerous duties assumed by him. Owing to the completeness of Mr. Justice Riddell's Introduction, we are still able to publish the pamphlet in a setting of which we have just cause to be proud.

> W. S. HERRINGTON, Pres. L. & A. H. S.

Napanee, November 8th, 1916.



# OCCASION AND CAUSES OF THE DEBATE

BY

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL, LL.D., F. R. Hist. Soc., Etc.,
Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario.

When the first Parliament of Upper Canada met at Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake), Monday, September 17th, 1792, His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, Colonel John Graves Simcoe, in the Speech from the Throne, said to the Members of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly (or House of Commons):

"I have summoned you together under the authority of an Act of Parliament of Great Britain passed in the last year and which has established the British Constitution, and also the forms which secure and maintain it in this distant country.

The wisdom and beneficence of our Most Gracious Sovereign and the British Parliament have been eminently proved, not only in the imparting to us the same form of Government, but also in securing the benefit of the many provisions that guard this memorable Act; so that the blessings of our invaluable constitution thus protected and amplified we may hope will be extended to the remotest posterity.

The British form of Government has prepared the way for its speedy colonization" (i.e., the colonization of Upper Canada).

Both Houses made a most loyal address in answer, that of the Council following closely the wording of the speech from the Throne.

In his Speech from the Throne closing this Session, Simcoe said that the Constitution of the Province was "the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain". (1)

From the very beginning of our national career, it has been considered that our constitution is the very image and transcript of that of the mother country: and no small part of the disputes and troubles between the

<sup>(1)</sup> The speech from the Throne and the Answers will be found in the Seventh Report of the Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1910, pp. 1-3; Sixth Report of the Bureau of Archives, Ontario, pp. 2-3. The closing speech is on page 11 and 18 respectively.

Governors and Parliament, and between the two Houses of Parliament arose from the contention that the British Constitution was not followed in the government of Upper Canada.

It will be well in the first place to define what is meant by the "Constitution". In American law and parlance the Constitution is a written document expressed in terms more or less precise, which defines powers, lays down rules and limitations and which may be interpreted by Courts in all cases of difficulty. In English law and parlance, the Constitution is not a written document, but it is the totality of the rules more or less vague upon which the government of the people should be conducted; in cases of difficulty, Parliament must decide, the Courts have no jurisdiction in the matter.

In the American sense whatever is unconstitutional is illegal, however right it may be; with us what is unconstitutional is wrong however legal it may be. (2)

But whenever there is a written document, be it Statute or otherwise prescribing any proceeding, etc., etc., in Government, the word "unconstitutional" will in that regard take on the American connotation.

In the case of Upper (as of Lower) Canada, the Charter of her government is to be found in the Constitutional Act of 1791, 31 George III., c. 31. The only part of this Act which will be examined here is that part which deals directly or indirectly with the Executive Council, as it is upon the Duties and Responsibilities of the Executive Council that the Debate now under consideration was had. While there is in the Act, sections 2, 3, 13, 14 and 20 express provision for the summoning of Legislative Councillors and the election of Members of the Legislative Assembly, there is no express provision for Executive Councillors. But an Executive Council was necessarily implied: Section 34 provided for a Court of Appeals consisting in part of "such Executive Councillors as shall be appointed by His Majesty for the affairs of such Province"; section 38 authorized the Governor "with the advice of such Executive Council as shall have been appointed by His Majesty, his heirs or successors within such Province" to erect Parsonages and endow them.

Outside these two sections there was no provision for the duties of the Executive Council, and consequently the position of the Executive Council was left very much at large. (Section 50, indeed, gave the Governor power with the assent of the major part of his Executive Council to make laws for his Province before the meeting of the First

<sup>(2)</sup> See Bell v. Town of Burlington (1915) 34 O.L.R. 619, at pp. 621, 622, for a discussion of this distinction.

Parliament, such laws to remain in force till six months after such meeting unless in the meantime repealed by Parliament,—but this was a purely temporary provision.) It is obvious that it might be a matter of much honest contention, and indeed it more than once formed the battle ground of party.

An Executive Council was in fact appointed at the beginning of Upper Canada's separate existence and the institution was continued without interruption.

In the Province, the House of Assembly claimed the rights and privileges of the British House of Commons and (speaking generally) had the claim allowed; the Legislgtive Council corresponded to the House of Lords (3) there was nothing in the formal constitution of England to which the Executive Council could correspond but the Privy Council, and nothing in the informal constitution but the Cabinet.

At the present time there is little difficulty in determining the relative functions and powers of the Crown, the Houses of Parliament, and the "Ministry"; but in 1792 it was not so easy.

At the Common Law and before the Revolution of 1688, the King did not only reign, he also governed. He was master in theory, and in practice he was as much and as far master as his subjects would permit without successful armed opposition. The Revolution changed both theory and practice, thereafter both in theory and in practice the King must find a Minister who would take upon himself the responsibility of the King's acts.

While this was never forgotten, the King, George III., in his long reign came perilously near the old practice in some instances; but he never failed to find a minister to father any of his acts, however unwise. In every case the King was considered blameless, "the King can do no wrong," and the Minister was the culpable party. That is Responsible Government, i.e., the Minister who is responsible for the advice to the King is responsible to the representatives of the people in Parliament, for giving such advice.

In the mother country, these propositions were acknowledged in theory and fairly well observed in practice.

In Upper Canada, there was no resident hereditary head of the State, who could do no wrong. The effective

<sup>(3)</sup> There was a very curious provision in the Act of 1791. Section 6 authorized the Crown to annex to any hereditary title of honour, rank or dignity conferred by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the Province, an hereditary right of being summoned to the Legislative Council. This right was never exercised and this Province fortunately escaped an hereditary second house of Parliament.

power at the head of affairs was an officer appointed for a short term of years by the King on the advice of the Home Administration, not to reign, but to govern; he had specific instructions as to many of his duties, and was responsible to the authority which appointed him. Unlike the King, he could do wrong; unlike the Home Ministry, he was responsible not to the people or their representatives, but to an authority across the seas. It naturally followed that those whom he appointed to carry on the business of state were responsible to him alone and not to Parliament; their advice he need not seek; if sought and given, it might be neglected, and he could not hide himself behind any officer or the advice of any officer.

The Constitution of Upper Canada, then, was far from being the image and transcript of that of Great Britain.

In the early days of the Colony the inhabitants were too much engaged in material matters, in chopping down the forests, in clearing the land and in making a home in \* the new world, to pay much attention to the theory or indeed to the practice of government. The Governor had Crown Lands to draw upon and other revenues, and did much as he pleased without interference or complaint: Parliament had certain taxes imposed by its own authority and certain customs' duties, and this money was expended under the order of Parliament. The money at the disposal of the Governor tended rather to decrease than to increase; that of the Parliament had the reverse tendency, and it was inevitable that at some time the Governor would desire to encroach on the money of Parliament. And if money is not the root of all evil, it is the root of most revolutions and constitutional changes.

In 1803, the first instance on record occurred of the Governor (Hunter) using some of the Parliament's money without its consent; the money was employed for useful and necessary purposes, but in the absence of the consent of Parliament this was unconstitutional (in our sense of the word, i.e. legal, but not in accordance with our views of government). Hunter continued this practice till his death, apparently without open complaint; but in 1806 the matter received the serious attention of the Houses of Parliament. On March 1st, 1806, (4) the House of Assembly approved an address to Hon. Alexander Grant, the Administrator of the Government, successor to Hunter, in

<sup>(4)</sup> The address is to found in the Eighth Report of the Bureau of Archives for Ontario (1911) page 107; it seems to have been drawn up by William Weekes, a notorious agitator who afterwards was killed in a duel at Fort Niagara, N.Y., by William Dickson; see an article in the Canadian Law Times for 1915, page 726, "The Duel in Early Upper Canada."

which it complains "that the first and most constitutional privilege of the Commons has been violated in the application of moneys out of the Provincial Treasury to various purposes without the assent of Parliament or a vote of the Commons House of Assembly. The comment on this departure from constituted authority and fiscal establishment must be more than painful to all who appreciate the advantages of our happy Constitution and who wish their continuance to the latest posterity; but however studious we may be to abstain from stricture we cannot suppress the mixed emotions of relative condition, we feel it as the representative of a free people, we lament it as the subjects of a beneficent Sovereign, and we hope that you in your relation to both will more than sympathize in so extraordinary an occurrence."

It is plain that the House understood that it was not precisely in the same case as the House of Commons at Westminister. Had it been, it would not have abstained from stricture, it would have vigorously assailed the Ministry and ousted them from office; the Ministry might consider themselves fortunate if they escaped impeachment. But it was recognized that the Administrator or Governor was the sole person responsible and blamable; and courtesy to His Majesty's representative restrained even that House, radical as it was. (5)

Grant temporised, and a peace was patched up. When Gore became Governor he informed the House that the money would be replaced. (6) The House, not to be outdone, presented an address to Gore about a month thereafter, wherein they "beg leave to inform Your Excellency that we have relinquished the sum of £617.13.7 paid by the late Lieutenant Governor Hunter without the concurrence of the other branches of the Legislature, as we are convinced that the same was expended for the public use and for the benefit of this Province." (7)

No further trouble came on till after the war of 1812-14: everyone in the Province was too busy to raise questions concerning the Constitution.

<sup>(5)</sup> The sum was not very large—£617.13.7, (\$2470.72). It is reasonably certain that the mainspring of the objection by the House of Assembly was the well-known Robert Thorpe, Puisne Justice of the Court of King's Bench. Some account of Thorpe will be found in an article "Scandalum Magnatum in Upper Canada" in the Journal of the American Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology for May, 1913.

<sup>(6)</sup> In the speech from the Throne, February 2nd, 1807 (Eighth Report of the Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1911, page 122).

<sup>(7)</sup> In an Address to His Excellency, page 175; March 7th, 1807. The motion to abandon the claim passed by a vote of 12 to 2—Thorpe and Ebenezer Washburn, (the Member for Prince Edward and a life-long Radical), voting in the negative.

But in 1818, a new complaint was made that Gore had expended considerable sums "in a manner obnoxious to Constitutional proceeding," and "thereby the sense of the country ... over-ruled by an exercise of authority over the public moneys wholly unconstitutional and so subsersive of legislative power as to call for the most serious notice in" the House of Assembly. (8) Nothing was done about this, as the Administrator, Samuel Smith, promptly prorogued Parliament. (9)

But even yet there was no real movement to make the Executive Council a Responsible Ministry; nor did the notorious Robert Gourlay urge this as a reform called for by the Province. (10)

In Lower Canada there had been and continued to be a demand on the part of the French Canadians that the Executive Council should be responsible to the representatives of the people (11) but so far the demand had no distinct echo in the Upper Province.

From almost the very beginning of the Province there had been one, here and there, who desired a real and responsible Ministry, but this wish was practically inarticulate; and it was not till the early part of the third decade of the nineteenth century that it can be said that there was a party calling for this reform. Even when the Reform party was organized, the demand for Constitutional Government did not recommend itself to all Reformers. Gourlay for example jeered at it (12) and while it may be said that it was implied in the demands of Mackenzie and his friends, it was not at first explicitly stated.

However, before long it was manifest that the members of this party were with few exceptions agreed that the promise of Simcoe should be more fully implemented and that the Executive Council should be made responsible to the people, as was the Ministry at Westminster.

All legitimate means were taken to bring about the change desiderated, but in vain. I do not propose here to

<sup>(8)</sup> Ninth Report of the Bureau of Archives, Ontario (1912) pp. 558, 599. (Under date Saturday, 28th March, 1818.)

<sup>(9)</sup> Ninth Report of the Bureau of Archives, Ontario, (1912) pp. 564, 566; very appropriately on All Fools' Day, Wednesday, 1st April, 1818.

<sup>(10)</sup> See my Life of Gourlay, just published by the Ontario Historical Society, 1916.

<sup>(11)</sup> It may be that this demand was rather with a view to the "loaves and fishes" than on constitutional grounds; that it was again and again urged is certain.

<sup>(12)</sup> See my Life of Gourlay, p. 112.

give an account of these efforts; they may be read of in the pages of Dent and Lindsey. (13)

In the course of time, Sir Francis Bond Head was sent out as Lieutenant Governor, and it is in reference to his claims and his conduct that this debate took place. For some reason the Reformers believed Head to be a thoroughgoing Liberal, a "tried Reformer" who would redress all their grievances; but they were soon to learn their mistake.

Nobody knows why Head was appointed Governor; he could not even guess himself; but there never was a person more utterly satisfied with himself, his actions and judgment than was the new Governor. Arriving in Toronto, January 23rd, 1836, while the Parliament was in session, he deemed it proper four days thereafter to attend Parliament in person, instead of pursuing the usual method of sending a written Message. He told the amazed members "I have nothing either to promise or profess," and shortly afterwards sent Parliament a copy of his Instructions. These Instructions made it manifest that there was to be no Responsible Government in the true sense of the words. but that the Governor was held responsible to the Home authorities, not to the people of the Province. The House of Assembly indeed had the right to remonstrate against the conduct of the Governor, but had no control over him.

An Address passed by the House on the motion of Mackenzie failed to draw from Head a definite answer; he could never be got to understand that the Reformers were anything other than Republicans, determined to destroy all connection of the Province with the Mother Country. Still, as there were only three existing Executive Councillors, it seemed necessary to increase the number; and Head thought it wise to take into the charmed circle some of the more temperate of the Radicals.

He accordingly appointed Dr. John Rolph, and Robert Baldwin, prominent members of the Reform Party, and John Henry Dunn who had not taken a strong stand either way.

It is reasonably plain that the appointments were accepted on the understanding that Head should be governed by the advice of his Council, so that the House of Assembly would know where to attach blame. Moreover it was necessarily implied that if the advice of the Council did not recommend itself to Parliament, the Councillors would be removed, thus making a real Responsible Government.

<sup>(13)</sup> Dent's "The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion", an interesting but not wholly accurate work: Lindsey's "Life of William Lyon MacKenzie."

Head never had the slightest intention of being controlled by the Council or indeed by anyone. He forthwith proceeded to make appointments which were wholly obnoxious to the majority of the House. The Council protested, all six joining in a document in favour of what Head calls "the republican principle of making the Lieutenant Governor's Executive or Privy Council responsible to the people . . . a democratic principle of government which I felt so long as the British flag waved in America, could never be admitted." He declined to accede to the demands of the Council; the Council unanimously resigned, and their resignations were accepted, March, 1836. Their conduct in so resigning was approved by the House by a vote of 27 to 21. The correspondence between the Governor and his Council was referred to a Committee of the House. Committee reported. This Debate was on the motion to adopt the Report of the Committee, and is self-explanatory in most instances. (14)

The Committee was composed of Peter Perry, Chairman, and Messrs. Morrison, Roblin, Norton and Charles Duncombe. The Report (No. 106) is very long, taking up with its appendices 70 foolscap-size pages in the "Appendix to Journal of Assembly, 2nd Session, 12th Parliament, Vol. 3."

It starts off with a reference to "the increasing dissatisfaction which has been produced by the maladministration of our provincial affairs under Lieutenant Governors Gore, Maitland and Colborne", the removal of Colborne owing to complaints, and the appointment of a successor, Head, "to administer the affairs of the Province in such a way that the people should have reason to be attached to the parent State". The lively and general satisfaction felt on the appointment as Executive Councillors of Rolph, Baldwin and Dunn was mixed with serious apprehension of the influence of the old Councillors. Complaint is made that the principles of the British Constitution were not put in practice as it regarded the Council in the past, and it was plain that matters were not bettered by the appointments of the three new men-"the appointment of the new Councillors was a deceitful manoeuvre to gain credit with the country for liberal feelings and intentions where none really existed. for it was notorious that His Excellency had really given his confidence to, and was acting under the influence of secret and unsworn advisers."

It is claimed that "the responsibility of the Governor

<sup>(14)</sup> These facts are to be found in detail in Lord Durham's Report, Sir Francis Bond Head's Narrative, Lindsey's Life of William Lyon MacKenzie, the Makers of Canada Series, etc., etc.

should consist in great measure of selecting good Councillors and acting with their good advice"; and that he should in matters of patronage receive the advice of his Council.

The necessity of an Executive Council under the Act of 31 George III. is pointed out in opposition to the Governor's contention. Simcoe's Speech from the Throne is quoted, as is his speech closing the first Session of Parliament in which he says "this Province is singularly blessed not with a mutilated Constitution but with a Constitution which . . . is the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain."

The answers made by Head to popular Addresses came in for comment, criticism and censure; the conclusion is expressed that His Excellency was not so much shocked at the doctrine contended for by the Assembly as he was averse to its practical bearing against his own arbitrary pleasure; and reasons are given at length for that conclusion.

The Report concludes. "The privileges of Parliament were not more obvious and certain or more important than the duties and functions of the Executive Council for the poace, welfare and good government of the country, and it only needs on the part of the people and their representatives the same firm and constitutional exertions to insure the same success in the present all-important contest."

A few remarks may not be out of place: "Mr. Gourlay" mentioned by Dr. Morrison, is the well-known Robert (Fleming) Gourlay, the agitator malgre lui, (15) who was banished from Upper Canada in 1819, and afterwards adopted the title "The Banished Briton".

"Governor Preston" was Sir Robert Prescott, Governor General of Canada: he had disputes with his Council at Quebec concerning some land grants—he charged them with dishonesty; they, him with deceit and falsehood; and he was recalled.

"Mr. Sullivan" was Robert Baldwin Sulliven, cousin of Robert Baldwin, a man of the highest character and attainments, afterwards a Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench. On the resignation of the Council, he, with John

<sup>(15)</sup> Gourlay on coming to this Province did not intend to remain, but being made ill by mosquito bites and laid up for some weeks, his intention was changed. There is no reason to suppose that he wished to agitate politically; but his economic investigations roused the suspicion of the governing classes, especially Dr. John Strachan, and the opposition of these forced Gourlay, (as he thought) into politics. See my Life of Gourlay, p. 57, note (42).

Elmsley, Augustus Baldwin and William Allan, had been appointed to the Council (March 14th, 1836). Elmsley was the son of Chief Justice Elmsley; Augustus Baldwin (Admiral Baldwin) the brother of William Warren Baldwin, and uncle of Robert Baldwin. William Allan was a well-known Tory Magistrate in Toronto. None of these could at that time be considered of the Radical stripe of politics; Allan and Elmsley were always ultra Tories.

"The hon, and learned Solicitor-General" was Christopher Alexander Hagerman, afterwards Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench.

From about 1824 there had been efforts made to suppress the Orange Order, then almost wholly Tory in its membership; but in vain. Head had no sympathy with the movement.

"Mr. Francis Collins" was the editor, proprietor, and publisher of "The Canadian Freeman," a strongly Radical weekly, published in Toronto. He got into trouble with the Government and was prosecuted for libel. (16)

"Mr. McKenzie" is of course William Lyon Mackenzie, whose press was destroyed by certain scions of Tory families—a celebrated scandal of the times. (17)

"The Chief Justice of Newfoundland" was Henry John Boulton.

"William Forsyth of the Niagara Falls" claimed certain land which was also claimed by the Crown and which was taken possession of by a military force under the command of Captain George Philpotts of the Royal Engineers on the direction of Governor Maitland. It became a political question, the Radicals taking Forsyth's part; but from all the material available it seems clear that he was in the wrong. (18)

The case of Mostyn v. Fabrigas, referred to by the Solicitor General (Hagerman) was tried in 1774. John Mostyn was the Governor of Minorca. Anthony Fabrigas was endeavoring to raise a rebellion against British rule in the Island, and was imprisoned by order of the Governor. Fabrigas sued Mostyn in the Court of King's Bench at Westminster; and that Court held that the defendant

<sup>(16)</sup> A reasonably full and accurate account of Collins will be found in Chapter IX. (Vol. 1.) of Dent's Rebellion in Upper Canada.

<sup>(17)</sup> See Dent, Chapters V. and IX. (Vol. 1); Lindsey's Life of William Lyon MacKenzie, etc., etc.

<sup>(18)</sup> See Dent, Chapter VII., Vol. 1. I have also examined the legal proceedings extant, and think Forsyth had no rights in the property taken from him.

might be sued notwithstanding that he was Governor. (19)

Peter Robinson was Commissioner of Crown Lands, the brother of Sir John Beverley Robinson and the founder of Peterborough, Upper Canada. (20)

(19) The case is reported at length in Reports of Cases adjudged in the Court of King's Beach by Henry Cowper, Vol. 1. at page 161.

Wyatt v. Gore is reported in Holt's Reports, page 299. This report is best known from the curious mistake made by the reporter in calling Upper Canada an "Island". The case was tried in 1816, and it decides that the Governor of a Province may be gullty of libel for handing a libellous document to his Attorney-General. Serjeant Firth, Gore's former Attorney-General, gave evidence for the plaintiff, con amore, as he had had difficulties with Gore also.

(20) Of those voting on the Reform side: Robert Alway was one of the two members for Oxford. William Bruce one of the two members for Stormont. William Buell one of the two members for Leeds. Alexander Chisholm one of the two members for Glengarry. John Cook one of the two members for Dundas. Charles Duncombe one of the two members for Oxford. David Duncombe one of the two members for Norfolk. James Durand one of the two members for Halton. David Gibson member for 1st Riding of York. (Dr.) John Gilchrist one of the two members for Northumberland. Caleb Hopkins one of the two members for Halton. Matthew M. Howard one of the two members for Leeds. Samuel Lount one of the two members for Simcoe. Aeneas McDonell one of the two members for Stormont. John McIntosh member for the 4th Riding of York. William Lyon MacKenzie member for the 2nd Riding of York. Gilbert McMicking member for the 4th Riding of Lincoln, Elias Moore one of the two members for Middlesex. (Dr.) Thomas David Morrison member for the 3rd Riding of York. Hiram Norton one of the two members for Grenville. Thomas Parke one of the two members for Middlesex. Peter Perry, one of the two members for Lennox and Addington. John P. Roblin one of the two members for Prince Edward. Jacob Rymal one of the two members for Wentworth. Peter Shaver one of the two members for Dundas. James E. Small member for the City of Toronto. David Therburn member for the 3rd Riding of Lincoln. Charles Waters one of the two members for Prescott. William B. Wells, one of the two members for Grenville. James Wilson one of the two members for Prince Edward. Dennis Woolverton member for the 1st Riding of Lincoln. Henry W. Yager one of the two members for Hastings.

Of those voting on the Tory side:

George I. Boulton was one of the two members for Durham.
John Brown one of the two members for Durham.
Francis Caldwell one of the two members for Essex.
Robert Graham Dunlop member for Huron.
John Bower Lewis one of the members for Carleton-William McCrae one of the two members for Kent.
Donald McDonell one of the two members for Glengarry.
Afexander McDonell one of the two members for Northumberland.
Thomas McKay member for Russell.
Archibald McLean member for Cornwall.

Allan N. McNab member for Hamilton.

Edward Malloch member for Carleton.

William Hamilton Merritt member for Haldimand.

Charles Richardson member for Niagara.

William B. Robinson one of the two members for Simcoo.

George Rykert member for the 2nd Riding of Lincoln.

Solicitor General Christopher Alexander Hagerman member for Kingston.

John Strange one of the two members for Frontenac. Francis L. Walsh one of the two members for Norfolk. John A. Wilkinson one of the two members for Essex.

#### Not voting:

David Jones member for Brockville.

William Morris one of the two members for Lanark.

Josias Tayler one of the two members for Lanark.

Jacob Shibley one of the two members for Frontenac.

James H. Samson one of the two members for Hastings.

Marshall Spring Bidwell (Speaker) one of the two members for Lennox and Addington.

Hermannus Smith one of the two members for Wentworth. Nathan Cornwall one of the two members for Kent.

# IMPORTANT DEBATE

ON THE ADOPTION OF THE

### REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE

ON THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN

HIS EXCELLENCY AND THE LATE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

IN THE

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, APRIL 18th, 1836

Dr. Morrison, seconded by Mr. Gibson, moved that it be-

"Resolved—That the Report of the Select Committee to whom was referred the communications between His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor and the late Executive Council be now adopted, and that the Memorial to the House of Commons accompanying the same be also concurred in and adopted and signed by the Speaker, and transmitted by him to some member of the House of Commons, with the request of this House that he will present the same and support its prayer."

Dr. MORRISON said that a more exciting and important topic had never come before that House. The whole Province was now agitated by it. In the remarks he was about to make, he should endeavour to confine himself to the main point. The question was, whether or not the advantages of the British Constitution were to be enjoyed by the Province? There were various opinions entertained in the country as to what constituted good government. The House, at the commencement of the Session, had given its opinion in favour of elective institutions; and expressions of public opinion had since been given by the country that this was necessary to preserve the union with the mother country. The important question to be discussed that day was not urged forward by the House, but had been forced upon it by the head of the administration entering · into the discussion of the preliminaries of government; and upon him would rest the blame if it should lead to the further inquiry whether the people or the king should elect the governor. The question before the House might be narrowed into this principle: If there is an Executive Council, what duties have the people a right to expect from

it? One thing was clear, there had been an Executive Council from the earliest period. But this was strangely denied by the present Lieutenant Governor; although, if he had searched the records of the Province, he would have found that it had existed coeval with the government itself. (Here the hon, gentleman read at some length from the works of Mr. Gourlay.) It would be worth while also to read the whole account of Governor Simcoe's administration. But he would not rest this question upon the bare authority of Governor Simcoe, but would refer to the last clause of the Constitutional Act, and to the King's Instructions, in which an Executive Council was plainly represented as an essential appendage to the Government. But he would contend further, that, laying aside all arguments deducible from law, established usage, and general admission, the very principles of colonial government required the existence of such a Council to advise on all affairs of the Province. He had often admired that principle in the British Constitution which allows that the King can do no wrong. The meaning of this was, that he was not subject to trial by law; because, being one branch of the legislature, he is and ought to be free in the discharge of his duties. But still there was responsibility in the Government; because the King is surrounded by a responsible cabinet and Privy Council. The necessity for such a body as the Privy Council arose out of the very nature of the Government, although there was neither statute nor common law which provided for its existence, any more than for that of the Executive Council here. In order to avoid despotism, there must be a cabinet ministry liable to impeachment for the advice they give; and as the Lieutenant Governor here is the representative of the King by royal commission, the same principle should hold good. that he can do no wrong, and therefore he should be surrounded by responsible adisers, liable to punishment as in England. Without some such responsibility the Government must be the height of despotism, and the most ardent admirers of the British constitution would most strongly deprecate its existence. If unlimited power being vested in the King would constitute a despotism, is it not equally so if vested in the Governor? He would ask, if the day had arrived when the people would tamely submit to be deprived of those blessings which had cost the blood of patriots? No, he hoped the time had come when they would contend for good government. It would be as reasonable for judges to dispense with juries, whose business it is to inform the conscience of the court, as for a governor to rule without responsible and intelligent advisers. It might as well be said that the Parliament is only to legislate on

some affairs, as that the Executive Council is only to advise on some affairs. The very term Executive Council implied that it was to give counsel or advice on all Executive matters. But how does the doctrine laid down by His Excellency accord with this, when he declares that he alone is responsible, and that he will ask advice only when he pleases? To advise was the very essence of their office; and they had as much right to exercise their privilege, as the Governor had to exercise his constitutional powers. It had always hitherto been supposed that the Council was consulted on all the affairs of the Province. That belief had been inculcated in all the public records,—in the Journals of the Assembly, and in speeches from the Throne, and had never before been questioned. Was it to be admitted that Sir Francis Head, an entire stranger in the Province, was to come and upset opinions that had been entertained for fifty years? He (Dr. M.) would appeal to the people whether they would submit to this from an individual whom nobody knew. The long existence of the practice, if nothing else, had made it the constitutional law of the land. (Hear, hear!) Yes, the first Governor had an Executive Council. The 31st Geo. III., chap. 31, showed that there was to be one. And, if such a Council does exist, the Royal Instructions state that they are to be advised on all affairs of the Province. It was the most odious doctrine that ever was promulgated, to tell the Council at this late day that they are to be limited in their advice to only those subjects on which the Governor may feel it necessary to ask it, and that they are alone responsible to him for that advice. In the year 1799, Governor Preston of Lower Canada took upon himself the same authority, but the Tory Council told him they would not submit to it. He continued to act without their advice, and he had to walk about his business. Sir Peregrine Maitland did the same, and led some persons into crime. The Executive Council told him it was their province to advise him, and that, if he continued to act without advice, they would accuse him, and he must be recalled. Indeed, it was evident that the Governor could no more act by himself than the Assembly The privileges of both were defined by law. He would close by observing that Sir Francis Head, in replying to the Address of the City Council, had entirely mistaken the subject of it. He had represented them as dictating whom he ought to appoint as Executive Councillors. But they did no such thing: They said what every constituted body has a right to say—that the present Council had not the confidence of the country. But they nominated no persons in their stead, but left the whole Province to His Excellency, from which to make his selection.

Mr. PERRY commenced by remarking, that, if there ever was an important crisis in the affairs of Upper Canada, for good or for evil, it was the present time. There generally was a time in the history of every country, which, like the "tide in the affairs of men," as it was improved or neglected, exalted that country to greatness and prosperity, or sunk it into insignificance and contempt. That time, in his opinion, had arrived in Upper Canada. (Hear, hear!) For many years we had been struggling to get along in the best way we could, but things had still been getting worse instead of better. At length the time came when it was ardently hoped the prosperity of Upper Canada would be advanced, her grievances redressed, and her people made contented and happy; but, as if some evil genius presided over her destinies, at that very time this question was forced into discussion. People of all classes, tories as well as reformers, had at different times complained of the administration of affairs in this Province,-it had given satisfaction to none. When reformers made complaint, they were denounced as being factious, as demagogues, revolutionists, destructives, &c.; but they never were told they should not enjoy the blessings of the British constitution; -in fact the contrary was the answer on all occasions: "You have the British constitution, and what more do you want?" There had been a sort of deception practised upon the country: the complaints to which he alluded had been mostly directed against the Executive Council; they had to bear the odium of all the unpopular acts of the Lieutenant Governor, and they had heretofore been prudent enough to keep up the delusion, knowing that the matter would not bear the light of investigation. Who, he would ask, had brought up the discussion of this question? Was it the people, or the Council? No: he would say in his place, without fear of successful contradiction, that it was Sir Francis Bond Head. (Hear!) He had, to use his own emphatic language, "dragged it into day-light." What did he come here for ? Avowedly for the purpose of redressing the grievances of the country; for he tells us in one of his popular appeals, "the grievances of this Province must be corrected,-impartial justice must be administered; the people have asked for it-their Sovereign has ordained it. I am here to execute his gracious commands." Well, what did he do when he came here? He sent for the Hon'ble Robert Baldwin, and he told His Excellency in plain simple language which could not be misunderstood, that, if he took office, it would be to advise him as a cabinet minister advises the King. Doctor Rolph told him the same thing. But did His Excellency tell them, before they went into his Council, that he could not accede to nor accept of their

services on these terms? No; but urged them to take office, at the same time telling them that they would have a better opportunity to discuss that question in Council. It seemed he wished to get them into his Council that the question might be "dragged into day-light," relying on his abilities as a writer to carry him through in writing down that great constitutional question in this Province. they, with Mr. Dunn, consented to take office, he wrote a note to them to be read publicly in the House of Assembly, saying that they had done so free and unpledged; but the note was not forthcoming till the day after they were sworn, notwithstanding he tells the country, in one of his popular replies, that it was delivered to them before they were sworn into office-just as he tells many other thingsand then it was altered from the draft agreed upon at the time they were sworn; thus stooping to duplicity in order to get them into the Council, knowing that they were opposed to his principles. Having thus got them in, he proposed that no business should be done till the question was discussed between him and them, and they each should understand their relative duties. But did he do so? No, he went on administering the government as if there was no Council, making appointments to office, without coming to any decision with his Council; and seeing this they resigned office like honest men and gentlemen,-not only the new councillors, but also the three old members, who were generally thought to belong to the old tory school. They drew up a formal request to His Excellency, representing their views on the question at issue between them; which was never intended to be made public, as they took all precautions to keep it secret,—they even swore the junior clerks of the office to secrecy, and then went up to him in a body and read it to him. He might have told them in answer, 'Gentlemen, I find the practice of my predecessors different from what you claim, and I will submit the question to the decision of His Majesty's Government.' But did he do so? No, by no means; but like a tyrant he told them, 'What you have written you have written; you have put your foot in it, you must now retire from your principles or from my confidence.' Immediately he got it put into print for circulation throughout the country, (he must get credit for good manoeuvring;) and thus he has been the cause of dragging the question before the country, and if any evils arise from it he must take the consequence. If the people be aroused to discuss questions of government, upon him must fall the blame. No doubt His Excellency never thought of such consequences following; or if they did follow, that he could put them down as he would the clamours of the Kentish paupers. But he would find himself mistaken; the people of Upper Canada were British subjects who understood their rights, and would not submit to be deprived of them by Sir Francis Bond Head or any other Francis. The question now before the country was not whether we should have a new constitution, like the United States; no, but whether we should have the British constitution administered in all its blessings and advantages. as Governor Simcoe promised us; or whether we should have all its evils,-pensions, high salaries, established church, rectories, &c.-without any of the advantages attending it? It was admitted by Sir Francis himself, that if the King was here he would require an Executive Council to advise him. And was it not most ridiculous and absurd in His Excellency to set himself above the King, to proclaim that he was all-wise and all-powerful, and required no assistance in the government of the country? If it was necessary for the liberties of the people that the King, whose interests were identified with theirs, should have this check over him, was it not much more necessary in the case of a captain of the Waggon Train or a commissioner of Poor Laws, who had no other interest in this country but the few paltry pounds he put into his pocket while he was here? The Council claimed nothing but what was admitted in England; not one of the editors in the Province said they did; he knew His Excellency said they did-as he said many other things which it would take more than his word to make go down as truth. (Hear, hear!) His Excellency says, the constitution of this Province ordained no such absurdity as an Executive Council; but the latent intention of His Majesty to create a Council was soon made known by the King's Instructions. He (Mr. P.) would like to know what he meant by the word "soon," for it was not till 27, years after the passing of the 31st Geo. III., cap. 31, that the Instructions which he sent down to the committee were transmitted to this country,-they were dated in 1818; but that was of no consequence, for he would say with his hon. friend, that if neither the Constitution nor the Instructions said one word about an Executive Council, it would, notwithstanding, be required by the form of government. There was no such thing in the constitution of England, but it had grown out of necessity. The British government was a government of three branches. With the King rests the executive branch, in whom there must of necessity be a great deal of power entrusted, such as making war and concluding peace, entering into treaties, the power of life and death, &c. &c.; and there ought to be some check upon the exercise of such power. What was that check? It was the Cabinet Council, the bulwark of the rights and liberties of the country. Talk to Englishmen of resigning the con-

trol they possessed through a Cabinet Council having the confidence of the House of Commons, and you might as well talk to them of resigning their hearts' blood; yet there was not a word in the constitution or laws of England which said that the King should be advised by his Council. Was not such a check as necessary in this country as in England? It was even more necessary; and the Council should be responsible to the people for reasons which he stated before,—the Governor having no permanent interest in the country. But His Excellency not only says that the constitution ordained no such absurdities, we would be ruined if we had it, -yes, it would be the ruination of the country; and, in fact, that it would be unconstitutional for the Governor to advise with his Council. And then, notwithstanding, he says, the constitution ordained no such absurdity as an Executive Council: he tells us again, that, to supply his want of local knowledge, the constitution has wisely provided an Executive Council. (Hear!) Never in his (Mr. P.'s) life did he hear such a mass of contradictions as His Excellency had put forth in his various documents. He might just as well say that the House of Assembly should not legislate upon all matters of the Province, as that the Council should not advise upon all its affairs. The Governor admits that if he stood in the place of the King he would need a Council; but he says he is only the minister of the Colony; yet, in the Instructions to which he appeals, the Government of this country is called in five different places "your Government." And he has a discretionary power: he could declare war. (Hear!) Yes, he could; and he calls parliaments and dissolves them at his will and pleasure: it is therefore necessary that he should have a council to advise him upon those important matters.

Those who took a part in the debate which took place in the Imperial Parliament on the passing of our Constitutional Act, well knew that it was part of the constitution of England that a cabinet council should exist, and they must have intended when giving to Canada "all the forms," yes, "the very image and transcript of the British constitution," that there should be a cabinet council to advise the Governor upon all the affairs of the province; and it would be found that this was their purpose, both from the Act itself and from the language of all public documents from that time to this. Governors Simcoe, Hunter, and all others down to this day, acknowledged the principle, although they found it their interest to deny it in practice. And so says Lord Stanley, who was not a reformer; and the Constitutional Association of Quebec, who were not reformers, but tories, set out by saying in their Declaration, that there should be an executive council to advise the Governor on all the affairs of the province. And he had no doubt but if a question had been moved in that house for an elective legislative council, and the present resolution was moved in amendment, it would be supported by all the tories in the house, even by the Sol.'r General himself. (Hear him !)-(The hon'ble gentleman here read some extracts from the report of the Canada committee of the House of Commons, which was drawn up by Mr. Stanley.)-It must be conceded that the Governor takes advice of somebody, and if not from his council it must be from secret, unsworn, and irresponsible advisers. Was there a man in Upper Canada who wished such a system pursued? Did even the tories desire it? for it must be granted that if persons were allowed to advise him in that way, they would feel no restraint, but would say any thing true or untrue that might suit their purpose. No one of any party was desirous of the welfare and prosperity of Upper Canada who wished the government to be administered in that way.

The Governor says the Council take an oath of secrecy, which to his mind appears to be an oath of non-responsibility to the people. But was it not the same as the oath taken by the King's Council in England? The very same; it was an old oath: the King's Council were sworn to secrecy, and yet His Excellency admitted they were responsible to the people. (The hon, member read the oath.) The very oath itself bound them to give advice upon all matters of the government; and when they were thus sworn to give the Governor their best advice upon all matters which they thought was for the peace, welfare, and good government of the Province,-was it just, was it honourable, to bring the charges against them which had been done in His Excellency's appeals to the people in the shape of answers to public addresses? His Excellency further says, it would not only be unconstitutional but it would be inexpedient that the government should be administered here as it is in England, and men could not be found properly qualified to take office as often as a change would make it necessary. Now, he (Mr. P.) would say that Upper Canada contained within itself men as well fitted for all the purposes of good government as any other country in the world, and who would lose nothing in comparison with the statesmen of any nation; and he must say, it was not becoming in His Excellency to speak so contemptuously of the people of Upper Canada; and not only of them, but also of all the Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, who had emigrated here. But it seemed he was the only man fit to administer the government. Again he says, that if it was administered as was proposed, it would fall into the hands of a few dominant families at Toronto. (Hear!) What had he done

to take away the power of the family compact? Nothing; he took his new council from those very men who had "built and feathered their nests in the branches of the tree of abuse." He told the House that when he named his council he thought they would be the most acceptable men to the people of Upper Canada. Was there a man in the country who believed that when he penned that declaration he himself believed it was true? But that was nothing singular, for he kept men in his council who had convicted him of deliberate falsehood. When he was asked by the house whether a certain document was in existence, he replied it was not; but Mr. Sullivan, when examined before the committee, said there was such a document, and that it was drawn up by his Excellency himself and executed in the council chamber; and Captain Baldwin said the same: they only differed about who suggested it. Mr. Sullivan said he did, but Captain Baldwin said it was Mr. Elmsley; yet he still kept this very Robert Baldwin Sullivan in his council. Could any one believe that 57 rectories would have been established in Upper Canada, contrary to the often expressed wish of nineteen twentieths, if not ninety-nine hundredths, of the people, if the government was administered by the advice of a Council responsible to the people? What use was it to the people of this Province that the Governor was responsible to Downing Street? Suppose he appointed Sheriffs and other important officers who would exercise their power to oppress the people, what redress could be had? for it must be proved, to sustain a charge against him, that he was actuated by improper motives; but this it would be difficult, if not impossible, to do. Such responsibility was all a "bubble," and His Excellency had better been writing about bubbles than about such responsibility. How could a case be made out against Sir John Colborne for setting apart 57 rectories last year contrary to the almost unanimous wish even of the last tory House of Assembly? The hon, and learned Solicitor-General said, the other day, that he (Sir John Colborne) was compelled to do so by the Constitution. This was not the case; the constitution authorised but did not compel it to be done. Because the constitution authorised the Assembly to stop the supplies, was it to be argued that they must do so? How could Sir John Colborne be impeached for withholding from the House of Assembly important information relative to the revenue, when the Everlasting Salary Bill was under consideration? Instead of being impeached or turned out, he actually made his boast of it and was approved of. And one of the answers of His Excellency, Sir F. B. Head, to the House was enough to impeach him; for, at the very time when measures were taking in the Parent State to

suppress Orange Societies, His Excellency tells the Assembly he will take no step to suppress them in this country: That very answer showed not only that he had no regard for the wishes and feelings of the people of Upper Canada, but also that he had none for the wishes of His Majesty's Government.

His Excellency says it is better that the people should apply to him for redress of their grievances, than to his Council. Well, he (Mr. P.) need not go back to the case of Mr. Francis Collins, the destruction of Mr. McKenzie's printing office, &c.: he would say nothing of these bygone matters, but come at once to His Excellency's own administration,—and what would be found? There gentleman who was well qualified to be at the head of the office which he had long been in as its chief clerk, and he had applied to the Governor for it, backed by such a recommendation as he might well be proud of, and which few indeed could boast-a recommendation signed by men of all parties and all classes, in the House of Assembly, the Legislative Council, and elsewhere, (he referred to Mr. Radenhurst;) but did His Excellency give him the And when the Assembly subsequently situation? No. addressed him to inquire whether the office was filled up, plainly insinuating their wishes in regard to Mr. Radenhurst, he did not even mention his name in his reply. And did not he connive, in the most disgraceful way, to prevent Mr. McDonell being promoted to the colonelship of the regiment which by rank he was entitled to? And was there not a young stripling of a boy taken out of Peter Robinson's office the other day, and made collector of customs in Prince Edward, as if there was not a man fit for the situation in that county? If these things were appealed against, what redress could be got at the Colonial Office, where one man was out and another in while the complaints were on their way there? Look to the removal of the two crown officers, which was done to the great joy and satisfaction of the people of Upper Canada, and see how, by interested misrepresentations, they were reappointed,—the one to the Chief Justice of Newfoundland, and the other installed in his former situation. Suppose His Excellency should appoint a man to be a judge of the King's Bench, with slender qualifications as to character and still slenderer talents and knowledge of the laws, and he should, either from his ignorance or wickedness, sacrifice a man's life. How was redress to be obtained? there was the case of William Forsyth of the Niagara Falls, whose premises were invaded and whose property destroyed by a military force by command Lieutenant Governor; he applied to the Colonial Office

after seeking in vain for redress in this country, but had not obtained justice yet, nor was there any more probability of his getting redress than there was years ago. This responsibility to Downing Street was of no practical use to the people of this country, and therefore the necessity of a responsible Executive Council to advise upon all matters relative to the government of the colony.

His Excellency told the House that he was preparing remedial measures for the consideration of his Council. What, he (Mr. P.) would ask had become of them? would like to know where they were; His Excellency had every opportunity to bring forward his remedial measures, but not one of them had made its appearance; on the contrary, there was not a step he had taken yet, that has given satisfaction to the country; and notwithstanding all his professions of coming here to "root out the tree of abuse," we are just where we were, -he had done nothing but dismissed one Council and appointed another. He says he has followed in the same track of other Governors. He (Mr. P.) denied it. His Excellency told them, there never was an Executive Council till 1818, but he did not deny, that other Governors had an Executive Council before that time, and thus he contradicted himself. But saving nothing about that, he would ask, what was the use of recalling Sir John Colborne, and sending him, if he was to follow in the course of other Governors? He admits there are certain families who have actually grown rich upon the abuses of the Government, so that agitators have subsisted by exposing them, and therefore, there must have been some use in recalling Sir John Colborne and sending out Sir Francis Head; but if he intends to do just as others have done, he (Mr. P.) must say, that of the two, he would prefer Sir John Colborne; indeed they should never be named in the same day. (Hear, hear, and laughter.)

The very state of our affairs in a country blessed by Providence, with so many natural advantages, proves that there must be something wrong in the administration of our Government; and he would maintain, that it became the Representatives of the people, after the question had been "dragged into day light" as it had been, to support the principle of responsible Government, and if it had not hitherto been introduced to the country, to do it now, for the interests of the country required it. In doing so, they did not seek for any change in our Institutions, but merely to enjoy the same blessings as our fellow-subjects in the Mother Country. He further maintained, that it was their bounden duty to use all constitutional means, to obtain these desirable ends. What could they do? In the first place, they could stop the Supplies, and in the next place,

appeal to the King and Parliament at home. It was admitted on all hands, that they might withhold the Supplies; but it might be said the time had not yet come, when it was proper to do so. In the name of God, when would it come? It might be said that in England the supplies have not been withheld in times of great agitation. He would admit it. But why? Because the majority of the Commons always rules the Ministry. He was aware that many scare-crows would be held up, but he was of opinion, notwithstanding, that this was the time.-Perhaps it would be said that we ought to tell the Governor what we intend to do. But the House had been as moderate as men could be, under their circumstances. They intimated, in their address to the King last year, their intention, and the only remaining question was, whether the right time had arrived. He believed the House would not be doing its duty if it did not now take a firm stand; when the Constitutional rights of the people were invaded by force and violence, when the Governor tells them that they cannot have the British Constitution, and thus attempts to strip them of their birthright .-Under such circumstances, should the House grant the supplies, it would betray its trust. When the new Council was formed by the addition of known reformers, it caused universal satisfaction. But for what purpose was it formed? Merely to be a screen for Sir Francis Head,-a mere delusion. When that Council was dismissed, the House went up to the Governor with an Address, expressing their regret that such a step had been taken. afterwards passed resolutions declaring their want of confidence in the present Council. But what was the result? The Governor would not dismiss them but he derided the people, telling them that he had confidence in his advisers. Why, it would be committing political suicide, to grant the supplies under such a state of things. Perhaps he would be told that if the supplies were stopped, the Governor would refuse the contingencies. Well, let him refuse them. He was addressed for £2,000 several days ago, and was to give an answer to-day at 12 o'clock. What it was he did not know; but had little doubt but it was a refusal. It was also reported by some of his satellites that he intended to shut up all the public offices. Let him do so; if he thinks it will advance the interests of the country or the purpose for which he was sent here. let him do it. Of course he had the power in his own hands if he pleased. The farmers of the country were independent of him,-they could "shear their own fleece and wear it." He would say here in his place, that if the supplies were stopt, and his Excellency did not dissolve

the House, it would be a clear admission that he was aware the country did not go with him. The Executive Council were bound by their oath to advise him to dissolve the House-to send home those demagogues, and get men who would go with him. He trusted that day would decide the question whether the supplies were to be stopt or not; and if they were, let His Excellency come down and thunder his cannon in their ears, dissolve the House, and see what the consequence would be. Let him denounce us as traitors to the interests of the country, betrayers of the trust reposed in us by our constituents, and send us back to them again, and ask them whether they approve of us or not. The whole course of His Excellency, not only on general matters but in particular acts, was to be condemned. He had interfered with the privileges of the House of Assembly, in saying he was surprised it should address him on the subject of the present Council till the Committee had reported. And does he not speak of this matter most freely to members of the Assembly, and to private persons out of doors? He tells them, 'The House of Assembly has got the pig by the wrong ear,—they have got hold of the stick by the wrong end.' Many names are already in his black book; my name, I am told, occupies a very conspicuous place there. And did not he influence officers high in His Majesty's service to come to this House and pilfer that very Report from the table, in order that he might see it and be able to shape his course accordingly?

If ever the time could come to stop the supplies, it was now. Had not every step of the Executive Government been against the interests of the country? Look at the 57 rectories; and instead of that number there would soon be 444, as the Solicitor General wished there was the other day. If the House did not take a stand now, they would soon have no privileges to guard, or none worth contending for. He recollected when Mr. Boulton refused to give evidence before a committee of the House, he was brought to the bar and received a lesson from the Speaker; and he afterwards turned out one of the greatest sticklers for the rights of the people in the Assembly he (Mr. P.) ever saw. And he had no doubt but Sir Francis Head, when he was broken down from his present haughtiness, would be a useful Governor to Upper Canada, and as great a stickler for the privileges of the House of Assembly, as Mr. Boulton was. He was desirous of moving the following amendment:-

"That this House regards it as one of the brightest features and most important attributes of the British Constitution that the head of the Government is assisted in all its affairs by the advice of known and responsible Councillors and Officers who possess the confidence of the people; and that the people of this Province had imparted to them the same form of Government by the British Statute 31st Geo. 3rd, chap. 31st which, in the memorable language of the revered Simcoe, 'established the British Constitution and all the forms which secure and maintain it in this distant country,' and 'singularly blessed this Province, not with a mutilated Constitution, but with a Constitution which has stood the test of experience and is the very image and transcript of Great Britain.'"

Let any man who pretends to be for the Constitution of the country, vote against that proposition; but whatever became of the amendment, he hoped the original resolution would be adopted, that the country might know the Report had the sanction of that House.

MR. McNAB said, that before entering into the discussion of the important question now before the House, and which had been so unfairly kept from the country, he would endeavor to remark upon what had fallen from hon. gentlemen who had spoken before him. He expected that the hon, and learned member who introduced this matter, would have furnished the House with something like authority for the principles he advocated; but the only authority he adduced, was that of Mr. Gourlay's opinion. The whole proceedings on the part of those who called themselves Reformers, in regard to His Excellency and the Administration of the Government, were the most singular he ever saw. When Sir Francis Head arrived here, they extolled him to the highest pitch. The hon. member for the second Riding of York, sent out "epistles to the farmers," through the Correspondent and Advocate, praising him as a "Radical of the first water." But short-lived was his popularity with them; for the very first speech he made, his very first communication to the House of Assembly, was, on motion of the learned Doctor from Oxford, referred to a committee of privilege, as a breach of the privileges of the House. This must have been premeditated, for the hon, and learned Doctor had his motion prepared before he heard the speech delivered.—He did not even take his seat on the return of the House, from the Bar of the Legislative Council, but actually made the motion before the Speaker was fairly settled in the chair. When it was rumoured that the Executive Council had resigned, the House addressed His Excellency for information concerning the facts, and he, in the most frank manner, communicated the correspondence between him and his council on that subject. His Excellency's Reply, together with the correspondence, was referred to a

select committee; and it was worthy of remark, of whom that committee was composed. Were the members chosen from both sides of the House? No, they were from only one side; and although he moved to add two from that side of the House with whom he generally acted, in order that the opinions and views of both parties, might be fairly represented in the committee, it was refused. said then, and he must still say, that he thought it was very unfair. He wished to have the hon, and learned members for Cornwall and Kingston named on the committee, both Lawyers of high standing, and he thought it was due to their side of the House, that they should be on it; but no, not one but men of their own party would they appoint: and would it be believed, those hon, gentlemen who took on themselves the whole responsibility of this great question, and would not receive any assistance from others, voted against his motion.-Having got it all their own way, they had at last brought in a Report embodying the grievances of the last seven years. But it ought to be known it was all from one side of the House. What authority had they shown for the principles of the Report? Why, the learned Dr. (Morrison) had found the authority of Mr. Gourlay. (Hear.) After sitting in secret conclave upwards of three weeks, they brought it in, late on Friday night, or rather on Saturday morning, and immediately resolved that it should be printed. Where was the necessity for being in such hurry to get the order passed for printing it? Did they print the documents sent down by his Excellency, before they petitioned the people of the country to petition the Assembly to stop the supplies? (Hear, hear.) No, but it was to prevent hon. members on his side of the house from reading and examining this precious document, in order that they might be prepared to answer any thing like argument, that might be found within its two or three hundred pages. Yet that house ordered the report to be distributed among the clerks, to be copied for the Correspondent & Advocate newspaper, and that its discussion should be the first thing on the order of the day for Monday morning: thus was a great majority of hon. members on his side of the house driven into the discussion of the subject, without even affording them an opportunity of reading the report.

Such is the manner in which the committee was appointed and the Report made; and how have they proceeded this morning? Did they come forward and propose to discuss the question in committee of the whole House, in such a way that an opportunity would be afforded to the hon. and learned Speaker to express his sentiments, and give the House the benefit of his learning

and talents on this great question? No; but with the Speaker in the chair, one moves a resolution, and another moves an amendment to it, which was a manoeuvre to prevent any one from the other side of the House from recording their sentiments on the Journals. (Hear, hear.) Was that fair? They should not do so; and he could assure them that he, and those who took the same view of the question that he did, would take another opportunity of recording their sentiments. They come forward and talk of responsible Government:-but he would like to ask those gentlemen, if they wished the Government to be responsible to the Mother Country? If they did, he must declare that he thought it would be most unjust to turn out the members of the Executive Council, when they could not go with the majority of the House of Assembly. (Hear, hear!) Yes, he would declare it would be the most iniquitous system for this country to be governed by the majority of the Assembly, and much worse than our present system was represented to be by those gentlemen. Why, they would turn out every officer who was not of their party; and yet this was the system they wished to introduce into this country. Such was not the practice of the present Government; the records showed that all the patronage was not bestowed on one side, although the hon. gentleman from Lennox and Addington had asserted it was. He complains of the appointment of some young gentleman, a Mr. Beeston, to the office of Collector, and says that the Government should act impartially, and the fittest men should always be selected to fill office. that the course pursued by the majority of that House, of which that hon, gentleman claims the honor of being the leader? It was not; for instance, that hon, gentleman had received no less than three appointments this Session, from a majority of the House:—1st. A Commissioner with Mr. Bidwell, to treat with Commissioners on the part of Lower Canada, on all subjects connected with this Province. 2d. To sell the Stock and arrange all the affairs of the Welland Canal. 3d. For disposing of the School Lands; and each appointment to the tune of \$4 per day. And was he the fittest man in Upper Canada to discharge the duties of those several offices? He (Mr. McNab) supposed the majority of the House intended to commit the affairs of the Welland Canal to his holy and safe keeping, in consequence of the friendly feeling he had uniformly shown towards that great work. As to the Government confining their appointments altogether to persons of one class of politics in the country, it was not true; the opposition benches on the floor of the House gave a flat contradiction to the assertion. The hon, gentleman himself was a

Justice of the Peace,—it was true, he did not hold very high rank in the Militia, but whose fault was that? (Mr. McNab) was sure it must be fresh in the recollection of many hon, members, the reasons assigned by that hon. member, for retiring from the service. According to his own statement, he had the honor of holding the rank of Corporal in the Militia, and was one of the gallant band who made such an admirable retreat before a shot was fired, after marching many miles to take the Brig Oneida, and immediately after retired from the service; consequently his promotion was stopped, and thus was His Majesty deprived of the Military services of the hon. and gallant Corporal. The hon, member for Dundas (Mr. Shaver) was also made a Magistrate, and also held the commission of Captain of Dragoons; and was not he a And was he the fittest man in thorough-going Reformer? all the county of Dundas to be a Justice of the Peace, and Captain of Dragoons? His hon. colleague was a Justice of the Peace-Mr. Chisholm was also a Justice of the Peace and Colonel of Militia. Dr. Bruce had also accepted the appointment of Coroner since he had been in Parliament,-in fact, said Mr. McN. there is scarcely one of the gallant band of Reformers that are now before me, who does not hold some situation under the Government. addition to which, they have all been well provided for by the majority of this House. No less than eight members of the opposition were, by their own votes, and those who act with them, appointed in one batch, Commissioners at \$4 per day. Even the hon, and learned Doctor (Morrison) opposite had accepted an office during the present Session from the Government he is forever abusing. He hoped the hon, and learned gentleman would not get into a passion with him for mentioning his name, at least not such a passion as he saw him in, in the Methodist Committee Room-he referred to the gentleman who sat all Good Friday, trying the Methodists; had not he taken office under the Government? Yes, he had, he was a member of the Medical Board, appointed by Sir F. B. Head, as that hon, and learned gentleman says, without the advice of the Council. And with all the boasted independence of the majority, they were continually applying for every little office that became vacant in their own part of the country, while they were playing into each other's hands in the way of appointments in that House. It was truly ridiculous to hear hon. members abusing the Government for not appointing persons to office who were unfit to discharge the duties required of them,-while the Journals of the House showed that with the exception of one or two, every member on the opposition, had either

appointments from the Government or from the House, and some of them three and four situations; for instance appointing the hon. member for Halton, Mr. Durand, a Commissioner to sell the School Lands, and at \$4 per day, when it is a notorious fact, there is not a foot of School Lands in the Gore District, and he knowing this, and voting for his own appointment.

There were some more of the proceedings of the party relative to this matter which ought to be exposed. When the documents came down to the House, he moved to print 5,000 copies of them that they might be sent forth to the country: but the learned Mayor and others opposed and defeated the motion; while they prepared a petition, sent it forth to the country, got a few signatures to it, and when it came back, they say, "Here is an expression of public opinion." That was what he (Mr. McNab) called begging the question. They ask the people, "If we oppose the Governor, stop the supplies, bring the government into embarrassment, and throw every thing into confusion, will you support us at the next election?" And these petitions they call a spontaneous expression of public opinion. Here is the document, which I will read to you: it is signed William Lyon Mackenzie, a gentleman whom I suppose you have heard of. (Laughter.) (The hon. gentleman read from the circular letter which accompanied the petition, and then from the language of His Excellency in answer to addresses, and asked-) Is that like the language ascribed to him in this circular? And yet you hear his Excellency accused of "garbling" when a clerical error happened in leaving out the word 'these' in the extract from the King's Instructions; and this too by men who had the face to send forth such perverted language as an exposition of his sentiments. (Hear, hear!)

Was not the Governor sworn to uphold the British constitution in this Province? And if his Executive council should take a different view of matters, and give him such advice as would, if followed, lead to the overthrow of British supremacy in the country, was he not bound to dismiss them, whether they were approved of by the majority of the Assembly or not? Was a system which had been acted upon for fifty years to be abandoned for the mere opinion of Mr. Attorney Baldwin or John Rolph? (Hear him!) And because his Excellency was pleased to accept of their resignations would any man think the less of him? or would he do so even if Sir Francis Head had expelled from his councils men who had signed a document which was a libel upon the people of Upper Canada, and which contained doctrines destructive of our connexion with the Parent State? The Report states that his Excellency said, if the council would retire from their principles he would keep them in his service, and that such declarations are calculated to corrupt the public morals. The expression of his Excellency on that subject was merely the usual hint to resign; but what did the council say? At the conclusion of their document to the Governor they pray, that if their proposal is not acceded to, they may be allowed to disabuse the public mind. They were quite willing to settle the matter with their consciences, and continue in the council, if they could be allowed to publish to all Upper Canada the secrets of the Executive Council. But no, his Excellency tells them he does not want such men for his confidential advisers.

Honourable members on the opposite side talked a great deal about the Everlasting Salary Bill, as they called it. He voted for that bill, and counted it one of the best public actions of his life. (Hear, hear!) It was well for Upper Canada that that bill was passed; for, if it was not, they would now be able to accomplish their object. They would be able to dismiss the judges and all the public officers, at any time, and would vote no salary to the Governor if he did not see proper to appoint Doctor Morrison, Peter Perry, &c. to office, and make William Lyon McKenzie postmaster-General. (Laughter.) What were the salaries voted by that bill? In the first place, there was the salary of the Governor, £2000, should not that be paid? Then, there was the salary of the Chief Justice £1250; should he not be paid? and was not the present Chief Justice an honour to Upper Canada?—the son of one of those U. E. Loyalists about whom so much had been said in that house,—the descendant of a gallant officer, and who, with many other officers of that distinguished regiment, after fighting during the whole of the Revolutionary War, came and settled with their Colonel the late General Simcoe, in this country. Two judges, £1000 each. The Attorney General £300. Should not he have a salary? was not that office necessary? Solicitor General £200; and five Executive Councillors £100 each. That was the sum total of the everlasting Salary Bill about which so much had been said; and he must say again, that he thought making the salaries of those officers permanent was the best thing ever done for Upper Canada. Talk about the extravagance of the Government when the contingent account of the House of Assembly this year was between £9,000 and £10,000more than is required for the support of the whole government of the colony. (Hear, hear!) A great deal had been said about the terms upon which the three new councillors took office: but the note from the Governor to them said,

"I shall rely on your giving me your unbiassed opinion on all subjects respecting which I may feel it advisable to require it." If he practised any deception upon them, why did they not return the note at once and require explanation immediately when copies of it were read in the House of Assembly and Legislative Council? Did they not authorise the Speaker in this House, and the hon. Captain Baldwin in the Legislative Council, to read this note, for the express purpose of informing the Legislature and the Country of the terms on which they accepted office? It might be that Mr. Baldwin had some wisdom, and Mr. Rolph a great deal of cunning, and they knew his Excellency was a stranger in the country, that there was a great deal of business, and they thought he would need them and would keep them on their own terms. But they found their mistake, for he no sooner saw the document they presented him than he bowed them out of office. And he (Mr. McNab) did think, if his Excellency had acceded to their views he should have lost his head for it. found no fault with the note explaining the terms on which they took office, but went to the Council Chamber, and drew up the declaration which caused their dismissal; and he believed they would give half what they were worth if they could recal it and go back to the Council again.

The hon, member for Lennox and Addington says the That was new Governor has power to declare war. doctrine; at least he never heard before that a Lieutenant Governor of a colony had the power of making war. That hon, gentleman and those who act with him will find war enough when they go back to their constituents, for he (Mr. McN.) was persuaded the document they had brought forward would not go down with the country, but they would be told by the people, "You have brought yourselves into collision with the Governor, you have stopt the supplies and thereby deranged the affairs of the government, retarded the improvement of the country, and injured the public credit abroad; that is not the way to advance the interests of this Province, and you are not the men to be entrusted with them." Let it be known that this Radical Parliament was the first in the history of the country to stop the Supplies. When Mr. Hume proposed such a thing in the House of Commons it was denounced as a revolutionary project and was scouted at once. hon, member for Lennox and Addington talks a great deal about the language of the Governor; but what sort of language did he make use of about the head of the Government to-day? Such I am sure as the people of Upper Canada will not approve of. He (Mr. McN.) feared, when he came into the House in the morning, he would find

difficulty in meeting the arguments which would be brought forward on the other side; but he did not feel so now; they had brought forth nothing like argument to show that the Executive Council should be responsible to the people. Governor Simcoe, and all from his time to the present, had followed the same practice with regard to taking the advice of their council; and he was persuaded the people would not approve of the present measures. No Radical Parliament would ever die a natural death in Upper Canada; the last one sat only two years, and it was called the Long Parliament, and it was not very probable the present one would sit much longer.

Having said so much in reply to hon, members on the other side who had spoken before him, he would now proceed to the main question.

It was difficult to conceive what object the Executive Council had in view when they made their representation, or rather it was difficult to conceive how the real bearing and effect of the representation could have escaped them, for he would be unwilling to charge the whole of them with having made it knowingly. It opens with an almost express declaration of the truth of a variety of statements, which, although zealously asserted and put forth by a particular political party, have been denied with equal zeal and more truth by their opponents. These assertions too reflect strongly on the administration of the government in former times, and therefore came with a peculiarly ill grace from the heads of departments. example, they assume as the proper construction of the opinion expressed by lord Glenelg, that the condition of the province is "unhappy"; they attribute it to an "unconstitutional abridgement" of their duties. assert an "established opinion" in the country on the subject, infer a state of discontent when they speak contentment being "restored", and treat the public mind as in a state of excitement bordering on revolution, which cannot be prevented unless "the system of local government is altered and conducted according to the true spirit and meaning of the constitutional act"; the whole forming a running commentary on the seventh report of the committee of grievances, admitting its truth in some important particulars, and falsifying in spirit and almost in letter the address of the Legislative Council in reply to lord Goderich's celebrated despatch, to which three, if not four, of the very Executive Councillors expressly assented.

The representation may be examined under two heads, the matter and the manner: 1st. The Executive Council claim as a constitutional right, or rather as a duty imposed on them by the constitution, and which they have

taken an oath to discharge, to advise the King's representative on the affairs of the province generally, i.e. to have all the affairs of the province submitted to them for their advice, without reservation. This claim is founded upon the language of the 31st Geo. 3d, which speaks in one or more clauses of such Executive Council as shall be appointed for the affairs of this province; and it is inferred, that because they are so appointed for the affairs, &c., and because only some particulars are fixed in which their concurrence is necessary, the consequence is that their advice must be taken on all affairs, though their concurrence to particular acts only is required. This seems a forced construction even upon the words of the act, still more so when other considerations are adverted to. Would it have been such a violation of the 31st Geo. 3d, as to have prevented the affairs of the province from being carried on, if no Executive Council had ever been appointed; or if one had been appointed limited to the particular matters mentioned in that statute? In other words, is the Executive Council so integral and necessary a part of the government, that the government can have no existence without it? He should find it very difficult to assent to the affirmative of such a proposition, and however impolitic he might deem such a course, and however he might condemn it, he was not prepared to say, that the public business (with the particular exceptions adverted to) might not be legally and constitutionally carried on, though there were no Executive Council. If, otherwise, there must be a species of interregnum, on the resignation of the Council, and a cessation of business till reorganization not required by any constitutional principle, and occasioning an uncalled for inconvenience to the public The appointment of the Council rests entirely with the Sovereign; he appoints what number he pleases, and dismisses them at pleasure, although, to use the terms of the statute, they are appointed for the affairs of the province. He could not deduce from that expression any thing directory on the part of the legislature, as to the nature of the appointment or of the rights or duties of the Executive Council. They are not, either as individuals or as a body, responsible for the advice they give, and it cannot therefore be necessary, as a constitutional principle, that their advice should be taken, with a view to hold them responsible to the public for the measures which the government adopts. To understand the question thoroughly, it was necessary to analyze the office of Lt. Governor. The portions of the kingly prerogative, which is delegated to him, are to be administered by him under his personal responsibility: he is to obey such instructions

as he may receive from the home government, or in the exercise of a sound discretion in matters on which he is called upon to decide, without reference to that government. In the mere exercise of the prerogative, the performance of those acts which the Crown alone can perform, he stands in the place of the Sovereign; but for the propriety of the course he may take in any such act, he remains personally and individually responsible, not in this province, by reason of the nature of his office, but to the King's government, and to the British parliament: the one of which may dismiss him, the other impeach him. Although therefore clothed with executive functions, he exercises them as a minister, subject to the same responsibilities as the ministry at home. This responsibility is in its nature indivisible; whatever acts are done must be viewed as done by him alone. The Lieutenant Governor requires the concurrence of the Executive Council in certain points, and he has the right of applying for their advice on any other affairs he may deem advisable. To give him this right they are constituted a council for the affairs of the province, in order that he may advise with them, whenever any subject presents itself rendering such advice desirable. The very limitation of the advice of the Executive Council to certain specified cases, would appear to negative the necessity of their advice on other occasions, while their being an Executive Council for the affairs of the province renders them liable to be called upon for their advice as often as the Lieutenant Governor may require it. Such was the construction put on the 31st Geo. 3d, by the ministry by whom the act was carried through the British Parliament, and such construction had uniformly prevailed to the present day.

In the consideration of this question, it must be carefully borne in mind, that we are construing a law that exists, and not enquiring into the policy of forming an Executive Council on other principles. Arguments drawn from any supposed advantages that would result from converting the Executive Council into an administration of individuals holding office in the colony, liable to lose their offices when the policy they pursue is not acceptable to the majority of the House of Assembly, are foreign to a proper consideration of the question that now arises. Upon that point he should only remark, that such a scheme seemed rather difficult to reconcile with the relation of colony and parent state, and that it would seem rather unjust that the members of the local government should be responsible for the policy pursued here; while that policy is dictated by the home government; and that unless the home government has the right of such dictation, the connexion with the mother country becomes merely nominal, extending in reality to little more than the appointment of the Lieut. Governor.

Having thus far adverted to the matter of communication, a few remarks might be offered on its manner. The Council commenced by an assertion that they made their representation "impressed with the oath which they have taken"-they argue that they are in duty bound to advise the Lieutenant Governor on all the affairs of the province, and that no affairs of the province ought to be withheld from their view, which he presumed to mean, that they felt impressed that they were sworn to advise the Governor on all the affairs of the province, and could not conform to the spirit of their oath, unless all such affairs were submitted to them. In no other view could we justify them in making so novel a demand on the Lieut. Governor, at the moment when his attention was necessarily much occupied with the legislature, and when, from his being a stranger in the province, he might find it useful to make frequent reference to his Council. seemed strange that, resting their application on the obligation of their oath, they should conclude their representation by a prayer, not that they might be allowed to retire, but that they may be allowed "to disabuse the public from a misapprehension of the nature and extent of the duties confided to them"; -that is, to be allowed to tell the public, "We believe the duties of our office require us to advise on ALL the affairs of the province-we have taken an oath to perform those duties—we are prevented, by the course the Lieut. Governor adopts, from discharging the obligation of that oath; but our scruples of conscience, which impelled us to represent the matter to the Lt. Governor, and to require what we have required, will be removed if we are allowed to let you know the true state of the case. We have no objection to remain Executive Councillors, although restrained in the discharge of our sworn duties; our only objection is to be thought responsible by the public when we are not so in fact." It was obvious there could be but one answer to such a communication. He would offer no remarks on the present Council; but it must be evident, that a new appointment was rendered unavoidable, unless his Excellency had been unwise enough to yield the point in dispute, and while he remained in his own person responsible, to submit to the views and opinions of the Council in the administration of the government.

MR. McLEAN remarked, that the Report under consideration contained 104 pages, and, owing to the shortness of the time since it was brought in by the

Committee, little opportunity had been afforded for hon. members not in the secrets of the committee-room to become acquainted with its contents. That, however, was not of much consequence, for the very principle avowed by the framers of it during this discussion, as being the foundation of the Report, was quite sufficient to cause its rejection by every loyal and patriotic man. That principle was, "responsible government." Perhaps he did properly understand what was meant by a responsible government; but he took it for granted that it meant a government responsible to the House of Assembly. he would like to ask hon, members who seemed so anxious to have a responsible government, as they call it, if they were to form an Executive Council responsible to the House of Assembly, whether its members could retain their situation? Surely they could not; nor had he any idea that any one of the gentlemen who were called Reformers, and who were appointed to the Executive Council, ever thought of being responsible to that House. It was practically impossible that such responsibility could exist; for, being consulted upon all affairs of the Crown, and being responsible to the House of Assembly for the advice which they gave, they would acquire such power and control over the Governor as was altogether inconsistent with the proper subjection of the government of this Province to that authority of the Mother Country which must be necessarily maintained by every Parent State over its Colonies. Notwithstanding all that had been heard of the grievances of the country and the means of redressing them, it was now avowed that nothing would satisfy the majority of that house but what they call a responsible Government;—that is a government responsible to the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, but not to Great Britain. But the very moment we establish that doctrine in practice, we are free from the Mother Country. If it was the wish of the majority of that house to separate this Province from the fostering care and protecting power of that country, or from what they ungratefully called her "baneful domination," let them adopt that Report. they might rest assured that the people of this country had eyes and ears,-they could read and understand, and they would discriminate between those who were actuated by patriotic motives and those who were only the demagogues of the hour, (hear, hear!) whose element was agitation, but who had no sincere desire to remedy the real grievances of the country. (Hear, hear.) Yes, hear; he hoped the people would hear and understand. He was not in that house to court the populatity which was gained without merit and lost without a crime; but he trusted that so long as he had the honour of a seat in it, he would fearlessly advocate those measures which he considered were for the interest of the country to be adopted, and as fearlessly oppose all others of a contrary tendency, however speciously they were put forth.

The discussion of this question, it was said, was forced upon the house by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor. He (Mr. McL.) would like to know how he had done it. He came to this Province an entire stranger, and, as he said, unconnected with the political differences of the country; and what interest could he have in agitating such a question? He came here a professed Reformer, he was even called a "Reformer of the first water" by those very persons who now seemed to think they could not find epithets sufficiently abusive by which to designate himbut the moment he would not agree to all their views they attacked him in the grossest manner. The Report stated that the first Governor of this Province was a member of the British Parliament when our Constitutional Act was passed, and it greatly extolled him for his liberal and patriotic views in regard to this Colony; but do we find in any of his acts, speeches, or proclamations, one word about "responsible government?" Not one syllable. The bone of contention seemed now to be whether the Governor is bound to consult the Council upon all affairs of the Colony; but the very first act of Governor Simcoe, whom the hon, member for Lennox and Addington holds up as a pattern to all other Governors, namely, the division of the Province into Districts, was evidently done without the advice of the Executive Council; as the Proclamation on that subject says not one word of its being done with their advice and consent. And the very first act he performed, when the first Parliament met, was to appoint a Speaker of the Legislative Council, which was also done without the advice of the Executive Council. How, then, could hon, members stand up and say that the Governor was bound to consult them on all affairs, when such was not Governor Simcoe's practice, and when the very Act under which we live only requires him to do so on two or three occasions? The moment you declare that he, through his Executive Council, is amenable to this House. that very moment you declare the Mother Country has nothing to do with us. He is appointed by His Majesty as one of his Ministers, and he has a painful duty to perform for which he is accountable to his Sovereign. But hon, gentlemen on the opposition say, "Shall we have a Governor who is only responsible to Downing Street, 4,000 miles distant?" Sir, (said Mr. McLean) I look upon all such expressions as that to be tantamount to a

declaration of a wish for independence from the Mother Country, and they show but too clearly that the persons who make use of them are tired of the connexion? (Hear, hear.) To be sure they do not come out and say so plainly, for they well know there is too strong an attachment to that country by the people of this Province to tolerate it; and therefore they insidiously instil, under specious names, the poison of their principles into their unsuspicious minds; thus endeavouring to destroy their confidence in the justice of the Government of Great Britain towards them, and render them discontented with their present colonial condition. (Hear!) While they thus industriously labour to agitate this country, they are not idle in forwarding the same designs with the Government at home, by endeavouring to create distrust of the loyalty of the people of this Province. Address after and representation after representation, address, grievance report after grievance report, embracing "every imaginable topic of complaint," are sent home, which must produce a very unfavourable impression respecting the people of this Colony. And it is to be feared, if they continue crying "grievance, grievance, grievance!" that, like the boy who cried "wolf", they will not be heeded when there is some real grievance to complain of, and then their object will be accomplished. He held it to be the duty of every good subject to inculcate peace, and do all he could for the good government of the country; but he would ask, was it consistent with the duty they owed to the Government to be crying out "grievance" continually? Or, was it a duty the members of that House owed to their constituents, to get up petitions in the House and send them out to the country, asking the people to sign them? Would it not be better to leave it to the good sense of the people to petition them when they saw a necessity for so doing? But no, they could not wait for that, but sent out petitions calling, -yes, actually calling on the people to sign them.

In further discussing this question he would remark, that the very next clause of the Constitutional Act to that on which they found their claim that the Council should be consulted upon all occasions, says that the Governor shall do certain acts without their advice—present an incumbent to such rectories as were established with the advice of the Council. But what does all this agitation amount to? Just to this: the late Executive Council claim to be consulted on all the affairs of the Province; the Governor says, "No, gentlemen, I am sent here by the King with particular instructions for the government of the Colony—I will consult you whenever I

think it necessary; and if you claim to be consulted upon all occasions as a matter of right, you must give up such opinions or leave my Council." This was just the whole matter. Was there any thing new or extraordinary in His Excellency's conduct? No one could say so with truth; but, on the contrary, he had acted in conformity with the view taken of the matter by the Act and all who administered it. But, because certain individuals had expressed different views, the house was called upon to take such measures as never were taken on any question in this country-to adopt the Report and stop the supplies. Would the people support the majority in this course? No, they have had too much opportunity of judging of the acts and disposition of that majority already; and if this resolution was adopted, they would ask, "what good is to result from it? why is the public business stopped?" They would be told in answer, "We want to get a responsible government." Then they would ask, "What do you mean by a responsible government? must not the Governor be responsible to the King?" What would those gentlemen reply to such a question? He was inclined to believe they would find more difficulty in satisfying the people even with regard to that plausible term, responsible government, than they anticipated; for they would find themselves mistaken if they imagined that the great bulk of the people had not sufficient understanding to know that a responsible government, in the sense in which they meant it, was inconsistent with a state of Colonial relationship; and they were not yet prepared to throw off their allegiance, and break the connexion which subsists between this Colony and the mother country. He did not believe the country would support them in these measures. He had not much time to look over the Report, but, from what he had seen of it, he would say, that he never saw so disgraceful a public document emanate from any public body. (Hear, hear !!) He would, however, warn hon. gentlemen that the people would not be cajoled and bamboozled by abusive language instead of argument. The hon, member for Lennox and Addington said that so much precaution was taken in the Council to keep their representation secret, that the junior clerks were sworn to secrecy. Well, he (Mr. McLean) would like to know how the hon, gentleman became acquainted with that fact; but he would say this, that, if any member of the Council administered such an oath, he far over-stepped the line of his duty and authority. ("Show it," from Mr. Perry.) Show it, he says; why he has just as much right to administer such an oath of secrecy as any member of the Council had, and to do so is contrary to the statute against unlawful oaths, (hear.)

Mr. Perry, interrupting,—he never said that any member of the Council swore the clerks. He only said they were sworn to secrecy.

Mr. McLean replied, well, how does that help it?-(hear, hear.) How dare they require any other person to do what was against the law of the land? No other person would feel it necessary to do so; and by their doing it they proved themselves unworthy of their situation. Just as well might that hon. member swear any of the copying clerks of this House to keep any thing secret he was copying for him. It was said Mr. Baldwin did not receive the note from His Excellency till after the new members were sworn in: what difference did that circumstance make? If they found fault with the terms of it when they did receive it, why did they not at once resign office? Was it to be supposed the King would send out a Governor here, who was to be accountable to him for the manner in which he administered the Government of the Colony, and bind him hand and foot and deliver him over to an Executive Council who were to be under the control of the House of Assembly? What authority would His Majesty then have in the Colony? or on what principle of justice could be hold the Governor responsible for the administration of its affairs? Such principles were contradictory and inconsistent, and would not go down with an intelligent and reflecting people. (hear, Public opinion on the subject had already been shown from the spontaneous meetings which had been held in different parts of the country, and the addresses which had been forwarded to His Excellency, the signatures to which he was authorized to say amounted already to 5,000, and they were pouring in daily. A few months, he was convinced, would prove to the majority of that house, that they had misrepresented the feelings of the people of this country, who did not desire a system of responsible Government, or self Government, that was inconsistent with their connexion with their revered Mother Country.

MR. WELLS remarked, that he found great difficulty in rising to address the House after the hon. and learned member for Cornwall; but he felt it to be his duty to express his sentiments on this question. The ancients had a custom of crowning their heroes with laurels at the close of any great battle; and in accordance with that custom he thought the people ought to crown the hon. and learned member at the close of the session for his patriotic exertions. He had talked a great deal about responsible government, and called all who advocate this measure demagogues, whom the people would spurn from them at

another election. That hon, and learned gentleman had, to be sure, a good opportunity of knowing at the last election what the country thought of the men he politely termed demagogues, when he was turned out of the representation of the county of Stormont and had to get some few canal-men to put him in for the little village of Cornwall. Such remarks about public opinion came with a very bad grace from that gentleman. His Excellency, he says, came here to make those reforms which are required. Does the hon, and learned gentleman indeed admit that there was any abuse to reform? Who ever heard him talk of reform before, except it was to oppose it?

MR. McLEAN. I did not say so-but that he was called a reformer.

MR. WELLS. Well. His Excellency says himself that he has come here for the purpose of reform; but that hon. and learned gentleman says no reform is necessary, and yet he pretends to be a supporter of His Excellency! That, however, was just as consistent as the rest of his conduct. With regard to His Excellency's measures of reform, he (Mr. W.) thought they would amount to about the same thing as the reform of the hon. and learned member for Cornwall. That hon, gentleman made a long speech, containing a great many bold assertions; one of which was, that Governor Simcoe did not consult his Executive Council in his first act as Governor of this He (Mr. W.) was willing to admit that the proclamation does not say he did, but it was for that gentleman to prove he did not consult his Council respecting the matter on which it was issued. Such begging the question was the sign of a bad cause. He says those who call themselves reformers won't come out and declare what they want, and insinuates that they want a separation from the mother country. Such assertions were a libel upon the reformers of Upper Canada; and if a separation was desired by any in this country, it was by the hon. and learned gentleman's party. Look at the Montreal Rifle Corps,—the "casting about in the mind's eye for some new state of political existence,"-the threats of those high in office that they would resist the law by physical force when it did not suit them, and many other similar instances. And, indeed, all the acts of his party have done more to bring the affairs of the country into a state of confusion, than all the reformers ever did. (Hear, hear.) Have they not upheld every abuse? The people have declared that reform is necessary to preserve the union of the Empire, but he says no reform is necessary.

The hon, and learned gentleman from Hamilton found great fault because the committee were all from one side

of the house. But suppose two members had been appointed from the other side, as he proposed, what could they have done against the five others? No doubt he would like that such persons should be appointed by the majority of the house on their committees; but he (Mr. W.) thought the majority knew their own business, and who to appoint to transact it :-not tories, for they could not put confidence in them. Then the hon, gentleman made a great outery about stopping the supplies, and said it had not been done in England for a hundred years. No doubt he would not like them to be stopped, as he and his friends expect to be benefitted by them; but so long as the Government is administered contrary to the wishes of a majority of the House of Assembly and of His Majesty's Government, the supplies should be stopped, whatever consequences might follow. Lord Glenelg says in his Despatch, that they should be withheld whenever the interests of the country require it; and this act of the house will be approved of by all who are not willing to bow down to the golden calf.

With regard to the question of the Executive Council, the first thing to be considered was, does the constitution appoint them? and next, are they to be consulted on all the affairs of the Province, or only on a few? It is quite foreign to the principles of the constitution, that they should be consulted only on such matters as the Governor That he believed would be admitted. considered it to be the brightest gem in the British Constitution, that the King was dependant on the people through the Cabinet Council; and the constitution of this country, as explained by Governor Simcoe, required that the council should be consulted on all the acts of the Governor, and be responsible to the House of Assembly for the advice which they gave; and without it the government was nothing but a despotism,—the mere government of one man, who was a stranger to the country. His Excellency first came to the country he admitted the principle that a Ministry should govern the Province, for he sent for the hon. Robert Baldwin, and required him to name the other members of the Council, according to the English principle; but he did not carry it out in practice. Why should he have been so very particular in naming his Council, if he did not intend to take their advice? great deal had been said about those petitions; but if any hon. members thought their constituents could be deceived by the petitions, he knew it was not the case with his. They speak as if we were chucking the petitions down the throats of the people; but when they received them, they were at liberty to sign them or not, as they pleased. Not

only a great deal had been said in that house about not printing the documents that were referred to the Committee, but some fellow down in Quebec had the ignorance and impudence to propose a resolution at some meeting, condemning the House of Assembly of Upper Canada for not printing them. (Hear him.) Let His Excellency dissolve the house, and see if the constituency of the country will not acquit themselves nobly, and show him that Britons were never born to be slaves. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) We might derive a useful lesson, from the page of history. In the old Colonies, now the United States, secret despatches were sent home, recommending measures contrary to the interests and wishes of the people, till they could stand it no longer; and so it would be in this country if the present system was continued,it would result in open rebellion. It was the duty of members of that house to do all they could for the interest of the country; and as he believed nothing else would secure attention to our complaints in England but stopping the supplies, he would vote for the resolution.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL began by observing, that when this important subject was referred to a Select Committee, the house and the country had a right expect that an able, statesman-like and temperate report would have been made, containing intelligible, if not convincing arguments, and referring to authorities which would at least have the appearance of plausibility, if they were not found absolutely conclusive in favour of the views of its framers:-he regretted, however, to state that in these expectations the country at least, if not the house, would be completely disappointed. The dispassionate and intelligent reader of the voluminous document then lying on the table, would search in vain throughout its pages for dignity of sentiment, patriotic views, or calm, vincing argument illustrative of truth: while, as a literary production, it would be found to be beneath criticism .and in its general style and language, so marked with an utter disregard of all delicacy of feeling, and the ordinary courtesies of life, as to render it a disgrace to any legislative body that might sanction its promulgation. The speech of the Chairman of the Committee, which had been addressed to the house, was but a repetition of the leading statements contained in the Report, and like Report itself, contained no one solid argument to sustain the new and most extraordinary interpretation of our Constitution which had suddenly broken in upon the minds of some of our self-styled reformers. It would not be surprising therefore if, in the course of the remarks he should address to the house, he should not refer very

frequently either to the Report or to the speech of the Chairman, as in fact his principal duty would be, to endeavour to supply information which had been altogether overlooked or disregarded by the advocates of the new theory. It appeared to him that the point to which the Committee should have turned their attention was origin of Executive Councils in the Colonies-the duties originally assigned to them, -and the responsibility, if any, which attached to them as Councillors:-had this course been adopted by the Committee, they would have been greatly assisted in coming to a correct conclusion-and why they had not done so, he would not stop to enquire. but leave it to the public to conjecture motives, of which they could form as good an opinion as he could. Another advantage which would have resulted from this plan of investigation, had it been adopted, would have been, that the Committee would have informed themselves of the utter impossibility of the Lieutenant Governor's divesting himself of responsibility, and that by the Laws and Constitution, he is emphatically and distinctly responsible to the King as the head of the Empire, politically; and to the people of this Province, individually, in his private capacity, for every act of his Government; and that the Executive Council are not, and cannot be made responsible to the people for any of their acts. Without further remark he (the Sol. Gen.) would proceed to show on what grounds, and upon what authorities, he rested these opinions. There were not many works extant containing a history of the Constitutions and forms of Government in the Colonies, but there were a few, and some of them giving a very explicit account of the Councils appointed by the Crown,—their duties and responsibilities, especially in the Colonies in America: and in order to attract the attention of the House to the line of argument he intended to pursue, he begged hon, members would bear in mind that it would eventually appear, that the Executive Council of Upper Canada, which it was contended was created by, as well as identified with, the Constitution of the Province, (as conferred by the 31st Geo. 3,) was merely the continuation of a body that had existed in Canada from the first moment of an organized Government after the Conquest, down to the period of the passing of that Act, which divided the Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada,—and which was precisely similar to those existing in the old Colonies, on this Continent, and the West Indies. The first authority he should cite in support of this argument was that of a gentleman who held the office of Chief Justice of Georgia, during the time that State was a Colony of Great Britain, and subsequently held high legal appointments in the West Indies. This gentleman in his remarks on the Council says,—

"They are to give advice to the Governor or Commander in Chief for the time being when thereunto required; and they stand in the same relation to the Governor in a Colony that the Privy Council does to the King in Great Britain: in some cases the Governor can act without their advice and concurrence, and there are other cases in which the Governor is required by his instructions not to act without the advice and concurrence of his Council"—"which (instructions) every Governor and Commander in Chief should carefully attend to."

"The Council sit as Judges in the Court of Errors or

Court of Appeal."

"The Council are named in every Commission of the Peace, as Justices of the Peace throughout the whole Colony."—Stoke's Constitutions of the British Colonies,

pp. 239,240.

Thus we see the origin of Councils in the Colonies, and the duties assigned to them, and how completely the duties heretofore performed by the Council in this Province correspond with those imposed on the Councils in the old Colonies now separated from Great Britain, as well as those which remain appendages of the Empire. In the old Colonies, they advised the Governor when required by the King's Instructions, they do so here; in the old Colonies they constituted a Court of Appeal, by our Constitution that duty is imposed upon them here;—and Province, as in the other Colonies, their names appear as Justices in every Commission of the Peace throughout the Province. The same author observes, that when a new Governor came to a Province, the names of the persons who were to constitute his Council were named in his instructions, and that no other appointment or commission was necessary; but this practice has now fallen into The last set of disuse, at least in this Province. instructions containing the names of the Council were those brought out by Sir Peregrine Maitland; but it should be borne in mind, that those very instructions are these now laid on the table by command of Sir Francis Head. that they contain the names of the Councillors then existing in Upper Canada and prescribe their duties. These instructions and these duties have undergone no change since that period.

Governor Simcoe, the first Governor that came to this Province, brought with him the first instructions that were designed to direct the King's Representative, the Council, and other Officers of the Government in their duties; and as they were in the adjoining building, on

record in the books of the Council, it was somewhat strange that the Committee did not examine them. They would be found to be the same as those delivered to Sir Peregrine Maitland.

In some of the old Colonies the Council was possessed of legislative power conjointly with the Governor, formed an intermediate legislative branch sometimes between the Governor and an Assembly elected by the people:—of course, in all matters relating to the enactment of laws, the Governor could not act independently of the Council, except in so far as respected the assenting to or refusing of bills. Upon the death, removal, or resignation of the Governor, the senior Councillor by the King's Instructions assumed the Government, as in this country, unless the senior Councillor happened to be Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or Surveyor General of the Customs, (which officers were always extraordinary members of the Council,) in which case the Government devolved on the ordinary member of the Council next in seniority.

Such was the nature and constitution of the Executive Councils in the old Colonies in America, and although in the majority of those Governments, Legislative Assemblies existed, one branch elected by the people as in this country, yet there is no trace of any pretence that those Councils were responsible for their official acts to any other person or party than the King. Responsibility to the elective branch of the Legislature was never thought of; and the Chief Justice of Georgia, whose work he had quoted, and who had resided and held office in several of the other Colonies, distinctly states, that the Executive Council were guided by the King's Instructions, and were therefore responsible to His Majesty only. They were appointed as in this Province by the King, and removed at his pleasure; they advised his representative, when required, in secrecy; their acts could be known to the King only, and to him only were they accountable for them.

Let us now consider the origin and constitutional powers of the Executive Councils in these Provinces: they will be found to be precisely similar to those already described.

It would be recollected that Canada was obtained by conquest from the Crown of France in 1759, and that by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, it, together with other Territories in America, was finally ceded to Great Britain:—the form of Government in Canada between the years 1759 and 1763, was of course a purely military despotism, regulated by the terms of the capitulation. In the year 1763 the King issued his Proclamation, in which he

declares, that the Territory in America, ceded by the Treaty of Paris, should be erected into four separate Governments, viz.: Quebec, comprising the whole of Canada; East Florida; West Florida; and Grenada. For the purpose of shewing clearly the views of His Majesty with respect to the form of Government intended by him to be established in those Territories, it would be proper to refer to the Proclamation itself, which contains the following passage:—

"And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling our said new governments, that our loving subjects should be informed of our paternal care for the security of the liberty and properties of those who are and shall become inhabitants thereof, we have thought fit to publish and declare by this our proclamation that we have, in the letters patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, by which the said governments are constituted, given express power and direction to our Governors of our said Colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the advice and consent of the members of our Council, summon and call general assemblies, within the said governments respectively, in such manner and form as is used and directed in those Colonies and Provinces in America which are under our immediate government; and we have also given power to the said Governors, with the consent of our said Councils and the Representatives of the people, so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of our said Colonies, and of the people and inhabitants thereof as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, and under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other Colonies; and in the mean time, and until such assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to our said Colonies, may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of our laws of our realm of England; for which purpose we have given power under our Great Seal to the Governors of our said Colonies respectively, to erect and constitute with the advice of our said Council respectively, Courts of Judicature and public justice within our said Colonies, for the hearing and determining of causes, as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, with liberty to all persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the sentence of such Courts, in all civil causes, to appeal, under the usual limitations and restrictions, to us in our Privy Council."

Here then was the root from which sprung our present

Constitution. In the above extract it will be observed, that in the Patent constituting the Government of Quebec, allusion is made to "a Council," and that the Governor, with the advice of such Council, might summon and call a General Assembly, "in such manner and form as is used and directed in those Colonies and Provinces in America which are under our immediate government." Now it would scarcely be contended that the Council thus created by the King, could be responsible to any other power than himself. There was not at that time, nor for years afterwards, any representative body in the Colony; and it might be further remarked, that had an Assembly been convened in pursuance of the power contained in the proclamation, it (the Assembly) was to be constituted as in the "other Colonies and Provinces in America," and it does not appear that it was to be clothed with greater powers than they possessed. No Assembly, however, was ever called under the authority of the proclamation, and Canada continued to be governed by a military officer, assisted by a Council, until the year 1774. For eleven years an Executive Council did exist, clearly and positively irresponsible to any power but the Crown, and possessed too of powers greatly transcending those of the present Council, for it appears by the 4th section of the Act 14th Geo. III. ch. 83, that with the Governor it had power to enact laws by which the inhabitants of the Colony were bound. This Act, the 14th Geo. III. was the first passed by the British Parliament giving a settled form of government to Canada, and in it allusion was made to the existence of a Council, possessing the powers just mentioned. That Act authorized His Majesty to appoint a certain number of persons as Legislative Councillors, who, when appointed, should hold their offices for life; and ordained that the laws and ordinances passed by them, and assented to by the Governor, on behalf of the King, should supersede all ordinances previously made by Governor and Executive Council. The Executive was not, however, done away with; on the contrary, it continued to exist to advise the Governor; and by an ordinance passed in the year 1785-by the Legislative Council and Governor, it was constituted a Court of Appeal as in the old Colonies: which ordinance is recognized and confirmed by our Constitutional Act, 31st Geo. III. ch. 31, sec. 34. Before proceeding to examine the provisions of the important act last mentioned, it might as well be asked whether the Executive Council of Quebec, between the years 1774 and 1791, could be said to be responsible to any other power than the King for their official conduct? It would be manifestly absurd to say that it was responsible to the

people, at a time when the people had no voice in the Government. The Governor and the Legislative Council were both appointed by the King; the Executive Council was a body created by the King, which he could continue or suppress at his mere will and pleasure—there being no law or ordinance that required their existence. Being appointed, their duties were defined by the King, lessened or extended according to his sole decree, unless where particular duties were imposed by ordinance; and when so, those duties were of a character distinct from those of advisers of the King's Representative. then, should we seek for their responsibility to the people? It could no where be found. (Hear, hear.) If then up to the time of passing the Constitutional Act the Executive Council were alone responsible to the King, the next and most important question to be decided was, whether by that act their character was changed,-whether in fact, as is now alleged, "The Executive Council of this Province is by the Constitution responsible to the people, and not to the Crown-and like the Cabinet in England should go out of office upon a vote of the Assembly, and that the Governor is bound by their advice, and is not responsible for his acts, any more than the King is for his acts." Those who blindly contended for a principle so dangerous to the peace, welfare, and good government of this Province, would search in vain for support from the great Charter conferred upon its inhabitants for the protection of their liberties. That act recognizes a Council to be appointed by the King, but it creates no such body. was manifest that when the 31st Geo. III, was passed, the British Parliament had before it the King's Proclamation of 1763—the Royal Instructions to the Governor—the Act of 14th Geo. III. ch. 83-and the ordinances of the Province of Quebec, passed in virtue of the last mentioned act; each of which was specifically referred to in the Constitutional Act; and Parliament assuming that the King in the exercise of his royal prerogative would continue a Council which had previously existed, required of it, when created, certain specified duties, but no where making it a Cabinet which by its advice was to govern the Province, and assume the power and responsibility of the Crown,rendering the King's Representative a mere cipher, subject to its domination and control. A principle so preposterous as this, could no where be found in the Constitution. (Hear, hear.) Nothing could be more clear than that it never was intended that the Council should have greater powers than were entrusted to it prior to the passing of the Constitutional Act; which powers were defined in the King's instructions, and in the laws and ordinances then in force in the Colony, passed in pursuance of the powers given by the 14th Geo. III. By an ordinance of the Province of Quebec the Governor and Executive Council were constituted a Court of Appeals, and were continued such by the 34th section of the Constitutional Act-and by another section the Governor was required to act with the advice of his Council in erecting parsonages and endowing them: these are the only duties specifically required of, the Council; all others depend on the will of the Sovereign. If, as is contended, it was meant that nothing could be constitutionally done without the advice of the Council, was it to be believed that so important a principle would have been left in doubt by the eminent Statesmen who Constitution? It was inconsistent with framed the common sense to suppose they would have been so blind to their duty. (Hear, hear.)

But in truth, there could be no doubt in the minds of dispassionate and intelligent men-the Constitution itself gave a plain and distinct negative to the assertion, that the Governor is at all times, and upon every public matter, to consult the Council. It would be admitted that no duty which a Governor has to exercise can be of greater importance than deciding on the Laws presented to him by the other branches of the Legislature for the Royal assent; and it may be fairly argued, that if upon any one point more than another he stands in need of the advice of a council, it must be in coming to a decision on questions which may involve the safety of the liberties and property of the people of the country; notwithstanding this, however, he is not to be guided by the advice of his Council, but by the Royal Instructions. This was a provision of the Constitution itself, couched in the following plain and intelligible words:

"Sec. XXX. And be it further enacted by authority aforesaid, That whenever any bill, which has been passed by the Legislative Council and by the House of Assembly in either of the said Provinces respectively, shall be presented, for His Majesty's assent, to the Governor or Lieutenant Governor of such Province, or to the person administering His Majesty's Government therein, such Governor or Lieutenant Governor, or administering the Government, shall, and he is hereby authorized and required to declare, according to his discretion, but subject nevertheless to the provisions contained in this act, and to such instructions as may from time to time be given in that behalf by His Majesty, his heirs or successors, that he assents to such bill in His Majesty's name, or that he withholds His Majesty's assent from such bill, or that he reserves such bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon.

This section of the Constitutional Act was important for several reasons, but principally because, in the first place, it at once overthrows the doctrine that the Governor is on all occasions to consult his Council, or act by its advice; and secondly, as shewing that the King's instructions from time to time given were recognized Parliament, and embodied in the Constitution as binding on the Governor. (Hear, hear.) The clause just quoted required the person administering the government to assent to or reject bills "according to his discretion," not and with the advice of his Council, but in conformity with the instructions he may "from time to time" receive from His Majesty. How absurd would it then be for a Governor, were he to apply to his Council in a doubtful case for advice, and acting upon it, assent to a bill contrary to the orders contained in his instructions, which, by the express terms of the Constitution, were to be his guide. How would he excuse himself by alleging that he acted upon the advice of his Council, instead of his instructions? Where then must the responsibility rest? Upon himself, of course; and it would be out of his power to rid himself of it, and cast it upon another. (Hear, hear.)

The Constitution having thus emphatically recognized the Royal Instructions, as binding upon the Governor, and forming a part as it were of the Constitution itself, it would be proper again to refer to those Instructions for the purpose of placing before the house, in a clear and connected manner, the duties required by the Sovereign of the members of his Council when he appointed them to their office: the following were the words employed:

"To the end that our said Executive Council may be assisting to you in all affairs relating to our service, you are to communicate to them such and so many of these our instructions wherein their advice is mentioned to be requisite, and likewise all such others from time to time as you shall find convenient for our service to be imparted to them."

Language could searcely be more intelligible, or free from ambiguity, than was here employed; and let it be borne in mind, that these instructions were brought to this country by Governor Simcoe, who was also the bearer of the Constitution conferred upon this Province, and which he was charged to put in operation. They were moreover delivered to him after the Constitutional Act had passed the British Parliament, and by the same Statesmen who had conducted that measure to maturity. (Hear, hear!) If, then, the measure now contended for was correct, those Statesmen were the first to attempt to violate the Con-

stitution they had framed, and Governor Simcoe was selected and agreed to assist them in their design! There was something so wicked and preposterous in the mere mention of such a conspiracy that the mind instantly repels it without further investigation.

The Councillors named in the instructions containing the paragraph just quoted, were sworn into office in the presence of Governor Simcoe, and it would be too much for the most credulous to believe that such would have been the case if that able and excellent man believed that the duties of those Councillors were unconditionally circumscribed by the King, from whom he had just received his commission as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

And here he (the Sol.-General) would pause on this branch of the subject, and calmly, but earnestly, entreat hon, members to consider the question as he had attempted to present it to them. An attack has been made upon the Lieutenant-Governor, of a most violent-one might say ferocious, character-and he is charged with an attempt to change the Constitution, or to prevent His Majesty's subjects from fully enjoying it, by refusing to surrender his power and responsibility to the Executive Council !but, upon a candid examination, will any one say that he could have acted differently from what he had done? Clearly not. Were he now to adopt the views contained in the Report of the Committee, he must place himself in direct opposition to the commands of the Sovereign contained in his Royal Instructions, and by which every preceding Governor had been bound. The real state of the question is this-it is with the King that the House is coming into collision, and not with his representative. If Sir Francis Head be wrong, the error did not originate with him: The King on his throne is the party this attack must affect-it is against his royal authority that this House is now contending; and, to be successful, they must compel him to surrender, as unconstitutional, the powers he has exercised without dispute ever since, and long before, Upper Canada became a portion of his domin-For his own part, he (the Sol.-General) earnestly prayed, that, for the safety, peace, and tranquillity of the country, the attempt now made by the House might fail: -In its success he sincerely believed the highest interests of the Colony would be sacrificed; but he had too much confidence in the wisdom and integrity of Government to suffer himself for a moment to imagine that a scheme so certain to bring destruction on our most valued institutions could succeed; -something more than blustering language, and insulting resolutions, and abusive reports,

must be resorted to, in order to obtain so important a change in the system of our Government as that contended for by the majority of the House. With the British nation, hard names and violent conduct would avail but little; on the contrary, such proceedings would effectually counteract the result sought for, especially when they betrayed themselves, as in the present instance, in public documents emanating from a legislative body whose acts should be marked with dignity, forbearance, and calm There were few men whose political sentiments he more cordially detested than those of Mr. Joseph Hume, of "baneful domination" memory; but let the Report under discussion be laid before that gentleman, and he was satisfied that it would be treated with contempt even by him for its rudeness and its entire destitution of dignity and argument. The House might, if it pleased, destroy the prosperity of the country, and spread embarrassment through all classes of the community, by refusing supplies, but what would this avail? The King upon his throne must be attacked and overcome before his right to issue and enforce those Instructions could be invalidated. (Hear, hear! and applause.)

From what he had stated it was evident that the powers of the Executive Council were limited by the King, and that their very existence was dependent upon his pleasure. It had been stated that the Council ought to be responsible, not to the Crown but to the people, and that, if such were not actually the case, it ought to be so. This he would deny in the most distinct and unqualified manner, and he defied any man in Upper Canada, or in the whole world, to maintain such a position. It was not so; -it ought not to be so. (Hear!) Suppose that the Council should be compelled to retire whenever a House of Assembly (no matter what its political character) should say it was not worthy of confidence, the right of the King to appoint the advisers of the Governor would in such case be at once destroyed. It might be said the House did not wish to dictate what particular persons should compose the Council:—but such an assertion would be mere If the House were at liberty to remove the evasion. Councillors by declaring their want of confidence in them, they could repeat their declarations until they obtained the particular persons they desired, and this would be virtually appointing them. Where, under such a state of things, would be the King's authority? The moment the House had power to say who should compose the Executive Council, that moment the kingly office and authority would be annulled, and the power and patronage of the Crown, within the Colony, would be transferred to the

House of Assembly. (Hear, hear.) The hon, and learned gentleman (Dr. Morrison) might smile, as he observed he did, but he knew it could not be otherwise; and no single argument could be brought to bear against this plain and obvious truth. In favour of the new theory of responsibility to the House of Assembly it had been asked, how will you get rid of the consequences of any improper acts of the Governor, seeing that his removal will not make reparation to injured individuals, or restore the lives of any who may have been victims of his unadvised tyranny? But he (the Sol.-Gen.) would ask how, so far as the consequences of improper acts are concerned, would the matter be amended by making the Council responsible, instead of the Governor? Would that restore the dead to life ? Would that make good any injury that might otherwise accrue to individuals, or to the Colony? But that was not all. The responsibility contended for was a mere shadow-(hear, hear,)-a mere illusion of the fancy. The Governor was really, and tangibly responsible for his acts, and might be punished; as he should take occasion to show in the course of his argument. But how would you punish the Council? It was impossible to do so. otherwise than by dismissing them; for this obvious reason, that as they are, and must of necessity be sworn to secrecy, it would be impossible to find who among them gave bad advice, and who opposed an improper measure. Thus, the punishment, if such it could be called, must be inflicted on the innocent as well as the guilty, or all must go free. If he had not misunderstood some hon, gentlemen who were in favour of the new system, they had contended that the Council should be consulted on all occasions, but admitted that the Governor might act upon their advice, or reject it, at his pleasure. How then would they hold the Council responsible? To be sure the late Council have said,—"We have laboured under much odium, and we wish to be allowed to tell the people that we are not guilty, when any unpopular act takes place without our advice." Suppose this were granted, would not common candour requiré that they should tell the people that they did not deserve the credit of a popular act, if done against their advice? Where would be the obligation of their oath, if, contrary to it, they were thus to "respond to the people." Such a system of responsibility might have peculiar charms for some hon. gentlemen, but it was really beyond his comprehension to perceive its propriety. Just look at the absurdity of the Council communicating with the public whenever their advice was not acted on, and telling the people-"We are not tyrants, but the Governor is a despot." Sworn agitators! (Hear, hear.)

However fond of new things reformers might be, and whatever they might declare to the contrary, they did not, they could not wish for such a state of things, if they really had the peace of the country at heart. (Hear, hear.)

It had been argued that the Executive Council is here what the Cabinet is at home. Now this was just as absurd, and betrayed the same ignorance of facts, as the declaration in the Report, that the Governor has power to declare war! The Executive Council strictly resembled the King's Privy Council, and it might be worth while to direct attention for a moment to that body, and its powers. Some hon, gentlemen seemed to imagine that the King consults the Privy Council on all occasions; but in this they were entirely mistaken. The King could call on his Privy Council or any portion of its members for advice whenever he pleased, and they were bound to give him their assistance whenever required of them, and that too whether they agreed with the general policy of the government or not. The Privy Council, at present, was composed of a great number of gentlemen of different political views, and the King could act with or without their advice. They were altogether differently constituted from the Cabinet Ministers, which last held their offices virtually at the will of the House of Commons; but the changes of the Cabinet do not at all affect the Privy The latter are bound by their oath to give their Council. advice in any case in which it may be asked, but His Majesty is not obliged to ask it; but he may send for other persons, if he pleases, and consult them, and then act according to the best of his judgment.

During this discussion there had been various authorities quoted on the other side, and among others, that of Lord Stanley had been adduced; now, he was also willing to refer to that able and honest nobleman's opinion, given when he was a member of the Cabinet.

"—The Executive Council (he says) is a body acting in the nature of the Privy Council in this country—advising the Governor, but not responsible to him, and forming a Council against whose opinion as well as with it, he may act—and subject also to the control of the Treasury here as auditing and passing the accounts of the Province, so far as the jurisdiction of the Treasury extends."

So much for the opinion of Lord Stanley when a Cabinet Minister, and when it became necessary for him to inform himself of the constitutional duties and powers of the Executive Council. It will scarcely be found to favour the notion that the Executive Council are responsible to the people rather than to the Crown; and far less will it establish the opinion, that the Governor is bound

by the Constitution to consult them on those affairs not specified in the Constitution or the King's Instructions, except when he may think it proper and necessary to do so. He would next adduce that of the Hon. James Stuart, late Attorney General of Lower Canada, a very eminent and able lawyer, who says, that "it would, in his opinion, be better if the Council were more frequently consulted;" but he never intimated, that the Constitution required them to be consulted on all affairs. He (the Sol.-General) knew not how often the Executive Councillors were consulted on general affairs; but he knew that when they were, they were bound to give their honest advice, and the Governor had the same right to act upon it, or to decline following it, that His Majesty had with regard to the advice of his Privy Council. If this were not the case, the Governor would be the mere passive tool of his advisers, and, according to the system against which he was contending, they, the Council, must be equally the tools of the majority of the Assembly. Such a system would annihilate the kingly authority. (Hear, hear.) Such was not the Constitution of England, or of this Province; but the blind theory of the hon, member for Lennox and Addington. It was much to be lamented that hon. gentlemen did not think, and examine, before they rushed into such absurdities. It was still more remarkable that the late Executive Councillors, who had thrown the affairs of the Province into such confusion, should have imagined that, consistently with their oath of secrecy, they might insist upon being consulted upon all occasions, and then proclaim to the people the result of their deliberations. (Hear, hear.) Another argument had been adduced, which had not a little astonished him. He alluded to the reference which had been made to the administration of Governor Simcoe, who had been eulogized as the best Governor that had ever been appointed to the Province. He (the Sol.-Gen.) was as ready as any other hon. gentleman to admit, that General Simcoe was a most excellent man; and he would be the last to detract from his well earned merits. While in England lately, he was highly gratified, and much affected, on observing a splendid monument which had been erected to the memory of that gallant officer, by the gentlemen of Devonshire, in the Cathedral Church of Exeter, bearing a highly honourable and appropriate inscription, and ornamented with devices commemorative of his valuable services during the American Revolution, and while Governor of Upper Canada. But could any person prove that he had administered the Government differently from his successors, in the point which was that day the subject of debate? No, it was impossible. He would refer hon. gentlemen to the Council books, and ask them whether Governor Simcoe consulted his Council on all affairs? The result of such an examination would be fatal to the argument which hon'ble gentlemen had attempted to bring to bear upon Sir Francis Head. Look at the other public records of the Province. Governor Simcoe had assented to laws, summoned parliaments and dissolved them, issued proclamations dividing the Province into Districts, (certainly one of the most important powers ever entrusted to a Governor); and all this without any mention being made of the advice of the Council. It was probable that he might have conversed on these subjects with his old friends and companions-inarms, by whom he was surrounded in this country, and the Councillors appointed; but it could never be shown that the Council was to assist him on all occasions: the instructions delivered to him, as has been shown, made this unnecessary. The same observations would apply to the administration of General Hunter, Mr. Gore, and Yet it was now indeed every succeeding Governor. declared, in order to bring odium upon Sir Francis Head, and to induce him, by intimidation, to yield up to irresponsible advisers one of the most important prerogatives entrusted to him by his Sovereign, that he is, in this particular, taking a stand never before assumed by his predecessors. (Hear, hear.) But bold assertions could not, in this day, be passed off on the country as facts, and hon, gentlemen would find this to be the case before this question was settled.

It had been contended, that Governor Simcoe said we had the very image and transcript of the British Constitu-He (the Sol.-Gen.) would say we had more; (hear, hear;) even the Constitution itself, except such portions of it as we had refused to receive. Every part and parcel of the British Constitution that was necessary for the practical purposes of good government in this Province had been extended to it. The British Constitution, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons, each branch possessing its peculiar rights, powers and prerogatives, and the laws and institutions of the Empire, were not confined to Great Britain and Ireland,—their influence reached throughout all the widely extended dominions of the British Empire, and shed their protecting power blessings to the remotest portion of the realms possessions of our Sovereign: and the people of Upper Canada are as much protected by that Constitution as if they lived in an English County. Nay, more, for the British Parliament had given up a portion of its legitimate powers, and imparted them to these Colonies. Thus the Provincial Legislature had power to make laws, without any interruption or interference on the part of Great Britain, except where such laws would militate against the general interests, or any of the great constitutional principles, of the Empire. Such a check it would of course be necessary to preserve, so long as we remain a Colony. Besides this, we are under the powerful protection of the British Crown; and were our rights to be infringed by any nation or power on earth, the arm of mighty England would at once be raised for our defence, and to protect us from injury or insult. (Hear, hear.) Yes, he would ask, who provides fleets and armies for our protection?--who erects forts and constructs canals at an expense of millions for our benefit ?-who gives protection to our trade, and exclusive privileges to our commerce ?--who nurses and cherishes all our institutions until we shall be able to manage and bear the expenses of them ourselves ? It was the Parent State; it could not be denied that all these blessings flow from the practical working of the British Constitution, and that, so far as was compatible with our Colonial relation, we had the full benefit of that Constitution. In our local Legislature, we had the principles of King, Lords, and Commons. We had trial by jury-the habeas corpus Act-and every other privilege essential to the protection of life and property. It should be further recollected, that we thus possess the laws and protection of the British Government without its expenses; so that it is true, as Sir Francis Head has asserted, that though we may not have the exact image and transcript of the British Constitution, the only point of essential difference is as it respects its expensive arrangement and machinery.

The first act of the Provincial Legislature, which in its constitution resembles the Imperial Parliament, and is a sort of imperium in imperio, was to adopt all the English laws, except the Poor and Bankrupt laws; the former happily being unnecessary in a country where honest industry will generally suffice to secure a competency of wealth and comfort. The Court of Chancery, and other important institutions of England, we can have whenever we wish to avail ourselves of them. Indeed, it was clear that this Province possessed the advantages of the British Constitution, with many additional blessings, without any of its burthens.

He would now again pass to the question of the responsibility of the Government. If, by that term, it was meant that the Lieutenant Governor should be responsible to every individual in the Province, he would prove that he is so. (Hear, hear.) Yes, and he would prove in the

most satisfactory manner that the responsibility contended for by some hon, gentlemen is a mere shadow, a thing of nought, compared with that which really exists, according to the laws and constitution of this Province.

As long ago as in the reign of William III. it appeared that some of the Colonial Governors did not always conduct themselves with propriety, and an Act was passed which, as it was short, he would beg leave to read:

"Whereas a due punishment is not provided for several crimes and offences committed out of this His Majesty's realm of England, whereof divers Governors, Lieutenant Governors, Deputy Governors, or Commanders-in-chief of plantations and colonies within His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, have taken advantage, and have not been deterred from oppressing His Majesty's subjects within their respective governments and commands, nor from committing several other great crimes and offences: not deeming themselves punishable for the same here, nor accountable for such their crimes and offences to any person within their respective governments and commands; for remedy whereof, be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That if any Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Deputy Governor, or Commander-in-chief of any plantation or colony within His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, shall after the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred, be guilty of oppressing any of His Majestv's subjects beyond the seas, within their respective governments and commands, or shall be guilty of any other crime or offence, contrary to the laws of this realm, or in force within their respective governments or commands, such oppressions, crimes, and offences, shall be enquired of, heard and determined, in His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, here in England, or before such Commissioners, and in such county of this realm, as shall be assigned by His Majesty's Commission, and by good and lawful men of the same county, and that such punishment shall be inflicted on such offenders, as are usually inflicted for offences of like nature committed here in England."

Let it be remembered, that the Act he had just read was passed when the present United States formed part of the British Empire,—when there were Legislative bodies in those colonies, similar to those in Upper Canada. But if the Executive Councils had been Cabinets, and responsible for the acts of the Governors, why was such a law passed? It would have been the height of absurdity. The Act shows plainly that the responsibility rests upon the

Governor, and that he cannot be allowed to shelter himself under any pretended responsibility to his Council; and this Statute is in force at this day. He (the Sol.-Gen.) would grant that a Governor could not be prosecuted in this country: and why? Because, as Lord Mansfield says, if he could, he might be imprisoned; and thus the colony be without a Governor, and the power and authority of the Crown be destroyed. But what of this? can be prosecuted in England, and tried like any other individual by a jury of his country. In the year 1774 a Governor Mostyn was prosecuted, by a person of the name of Falrigas, and a verdict of £3000 rendered against him for an act which would have been, perhaps above any other strictly illegal acts, considered excusable. It was for imprisoning a man who had been accused of stirring up treason and rebellion in the colony. (Hear, hear.) was proper responsibility, and proper redress; and Lord Mansfield in pronouncing the judgment of the Court declared .-

"That a Governor was not that sacred character that an action would not lie against him for an illegal act committed by him within his Government—but that for many reasons, if an action did not lie against any other man, for an injury done, it should most emphatically lie against the Governor—but that he must be tried in England to see whether he had exercised the power delegated to him legally and properly; or whether he had abused it in violation of the laws of England, and the trust reposed in him."

It was not pretended that this gentleman had been advised to do what he had done by his Council; and if he had set up such an excuse it would have availed him nothing. If, however, it had been in his power to shelter himself under the advice of his Council, the consequence would have been that the man who had sustained a grievous injury would have been without any remedy,-an admirable proof of the advantage of taking away responsibility from a Governor and placing it nominally on a Council that cannot be prosecuted. Neither are we without examples of the responsibility of Governors to individuals for injuries done them nearer home. Honourable gentlemen no doubt recollected Governor Gore; and some of them might have heard of Judge Thorpe, Mr. Surveyor General Wyatt, and others, who either abandoned their situations or were suspended by Mr. Gore for alleged misconduct. Mr. Wyatt was so disposed of, but, considering himself unjustly treated, he brought an action against Mr. Gore when in England and during the time he was on leave of absence as Lieutenant Governor of the Province, and

received £300 damages against him. Many other cases might be adduced proving the responsibility of Governors for their acts, and showing that they never pretended to shelter themselves under the advice of their Council. Neither could they do so; for the laws and constitution make them, and not the Council, responsible for whatever injury may have been committed by them. They are known, tangible individuals; but a Council could not be so prosecuted—and if a party were told to seek redress from it, for an injury however enormous, he would find that his hopes of compensation were visionary and unfounded.

He would conclude this part of the subject by referring to two Acts of the Imperial Parliament showing the heavy responsibility imposed upon Governors of Colonies, and from which neither an Executive Council, nor any other power but Parliament itself, could save them. The first is an Act passed in the 7th and 8th years of William and Mary, for preventing frauds, and regulating abuses in the Colonial Trade, by the 4th clause of which it is enacted that if a Governor of any of the Colonies shall fail to do the utmost in his power to carry that law into effect, he should forfeit one thousand pounds, and be removed from his government. The second Act was passed in the 4th year of Geo. III. to prevent paper bills of credit, issued in the Colonies in America, from being made a legal tender by any Act of the local Legislature; and by the 3rd section of which it is enacted that if any Governor shall give his assent to a bill passed by a Colonial Assembly in opposition to the intent and meaning of that Act, he should forfeit £1,000, be removed from his government, and for ever rendered incapable of any public office or place of trust. Of what avail, he would ask, would it be to a Governor of Upper Canada, who had rendered himself liable to punishment under the provisions of either of these Acts, to plead as his excuse that he had acted by and with the advice of the Executive Council? Should such a plea save him from punishment, where would the responsibility rest then? (Hear, hear.) He might multiply proofs and authorities, but it could not be necessary. Those hon, gentlemen who wished to be influenced by honest argument and truth had heard enough, and if any were already determined as to their votes, without regard to facts or arguments, they must pursue their own course. It had been asserted that the doctrine laid down by His Excellency was altogether novel; but when, he would ask, had responsibility been claimed at any former period of our history by the Council, or by anybody on their behalf? Where was the proof of it? ("Where is it not?" from Dr. Morrison.) The hon. and learned gentleman asks,

"where is it not?" He (the Sol.-Gen.) was really surprised. Why was there no noise made about it last Session? Had not that hon, gentleman himself, and those with whom he acted, declared that the Council was a perfectly irresponsible and useless body? Perhaps the hon, gentleman has forgotten this, but his memory should presently be refreshed. When the Act was passed, making a permanent provision of £500 annually for the support of the Council, it was asked often during the debate, and particularly by the hon, member from Lennox and Addington, "What is the use of such a body, responsible to no one for their conduct?" He (the Sol.-Gen.) had no doubt but those arguments would be found in the speeches of hon, members, as reported at that time in the public papers; but now they seem to have acquired new light. (Hear, hear.) To show that some changes of opinion had occurred, he would read an extract from the famous Grievance Report of last Session :-

"It appears that it is the duty of the Lieutenant Governor to take the opinion of the Executive Council only in such cases as he shall be required to do so by his Instructions from the Imperial Government, and in such other cases as he may think fit."

Now, he particularly desired to call the attention of the hon. member, (Dr. Morrison), to the fact, that his own name, the name of T. D. Morrison, was stuck to that Report. Yes, there he was, saying the the very thing which he now declares, and almost swears, is not true. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The hon. gentleman who fabricated that Report knew well that the Council, as well as the Governor, was only responsible to the King, and that such was the Constitution.

He (the Solicitor-General,) felt an unwillingness to refer to the extraordinary conduct of the late Councillors, with all of whom, except one, he had ever been, and hoped still to continue, on terms of friendship and intimacy. It was a maxim with him, never to allow political feelings to destroy private friendship; he had become perfectly callous to the attacks made upon himself by political opponents, and should never suffer them to affect him. But his public duty required him to refer to the letter which had been read in that House, and in the Legislative Council, setting forth the terms on which those gentlemen took office. was asserted, in the Report under consideration, that that letter, as read in the two branches of the Legislature, had been altered from the original draft shown to those gentlemen by His Excellency, and that it did not contain the terms on which they accepted office. (Hear.) But, if this were true, would those gentlemen have taken office under

such circumstances? If gentlemen, so distinguished for acuteness and deliberation, had seen additions of such importance made to the original draft, would they not have returned the letter to His Excellency, and have retired, saying-"No Sir, these are not the terms on which we accepted office?" Or if they did not wish to embarrass the Government by retiring, could it be supposed that they would have put the letter into your hands, Mr. Speaker, and in the hands of a friend and member of the other House, for the purpose of having it read, as it was by you, with much emphasis and apparent satisfaction, for the express purpose of shewing the conditions upon which they had accepted office, if it did not truly describe those He (the Sol.-Gen.) was bound to assume conditions? that the assertion made in the Report, was unauthorised, because, he could not for a moment suppose that the hon. Speaker of this House would have consented to read to the House, on behalf of his most intimate friends, as an authentic document, one which he must have known was not so. He felt very sensibly the embarrassing situation in which the hon. Speaker must be placed on the present occasion, and would most gladly sit down in order that a motion might be made for the House to go into Committee, and thus allow the Speaker an opportunity to express his views on this affair. Indeed, it was most unfair in the majority of the House not to go into Committee; as by the present course, the House was deprived of the valuable legal opinions of the hon. Speaker on so important a subject. But to him (the Sol.-Gen.) it appeared perfectly clear that as the Speaker was the intimate friend of the late Councillors, and had been consulted by them at every stage of the proceedings which led to their taking office, he must have been, by direct information, or otherwise, aware of the incorrectness of that letter, if it were incorrect; and therefore, if it were so, he would not have permitted himself to be the medium of communicating it to the House. Hence, he (the Sol.-General) was bound to believe that that letter contained the real principles under which those gentlemen became Councillors. Now, he would ask, if they accepted office with an understanding that their advice was to be limited to those affairs on which His Excellency might feel it necessary to consult them, how could they have understood the Instructions in that unlimited sense in which they have construed them in their address to His Excellency? (Hear, hear.) There was a something of mysteriousness hanging over the whole affair which he could not comprehend.

It had been stated, that after His Excellency received

the address from the Council, it was wrong for him to require them to renounce their principles or retire from office. But how could His Excellency do otherwise? He replied to them in a document in which he gave his exposition of the Constitutional powers of the Council, and then, he, in substance, said,—"Your views and mine are directly at variance on a vital principle of Constitutional law—it is impossible that we can act harmoniously under such circumstances—you must therefore calmly weigh the views which I have laid before you, and if you cannot conscientiously accede to them, I cannot conscientiously give them up, and therefore we must part on good terms." Had His Excellency done otherwise, he would have been justly condemned.

It had been stated by the hon, member for Lennox and Addington that the Executive Council were willing to withdraw the paper they had addressed to His Excellency when they discovered the difficulties it was likely to lead to; and that it was proposed to erase it from the Council books, and that the Clerks of the Executive Council had been sworn to secrecy on the subject. All that he could say was, that if this statement was true, it involved very serious charges against these gentlemen: in the first place, he knew of no authority under which the Councillors could administer such an oath to the Clerks, and if no such authority existed, then the oath was an illegal and profane oath; and in the second instance, the proposal to erase from the records of the Council the document they had so deliberately signed, if made as asserted by the hon, member, (which he was bound to discredit) was most reprehensible: and he must say that if such a proposal was made to His Excellency, and he had not forthwith dismissed those who made it from office, he would not have performed his duty; unless indeed they had been convinced of their error of judgment, and on that account wished to retract their opinions. To continue them as Councillors, they retaining the opinions they had expressed in oppositinn to the Governor would have been objectionable indeed. Suppose by way of illustration, that two or three Clergymen should write an elaborate document to their Bishop, declaring their disbelief of the great truths of Christianity, and stating their reasons, thinking thereby to convert him to their views, and that the Bishop should reply at length to their objections, and inform them if they persisted in their opinions they must be suspended, as he could not labour in connexion with persons holding such sentiments; suppose that when they see they are in consequence likely to lose their livings and be expelled from the Church, they should request permission to recall their declaration,

the same time retaining their opinions. What would be the duty of their Bishop? Evidently to say, "No, gentlemen, it will not be sufficient that you withdraw the testimony of your guilt, you must retract your opinions, you must declare that they were wrong, and that you no longer retain them, before I can consent to continue you in your sacred office." Now, the affair with the Council was precisely similar. If the gentlemen were not convinced by the able, plain and kind reply of His Excellency, they were bound in honour to retire, even if not requested to do so. He had too high an opinion of the honourable feelings of those gentlemen to believe that they had proposed to withdraw their paper and continue in office, retaining the opinions they had avowed, and he was astonished that such an assertion should be made. If true, nothing in his opinion, could more fully prove their unfitness for the confidential and honourable situation of Executive Councillors than that they were capable of making such a proposal.

A great deal had been said about His Excellency having garbled the documents sent to the Council. It appeared that, through a clerical error, the word "these" had been omitted, and on this ground His Excellency is charged with a laxity of moral principle. To say nothing of the unjustifiable grossness of this charge, it was really astonishing that hon, gentlemen could not discover, that, if His Excellency had designed to garble his extracts, it would have been as easy a matter for him to have done so the second time as the first, and thus not have exposed himself. Such accusations were no credit to those who made them. Such charges might, with much stronger semblance of truth, be brought against the authors of the Report under discussion. A most laboured effort had been put forth by the Committee to impeach the character of His Excellency in reference to the arrangement which had been made between two of the Councillors concerning the administration of the government in case of the death of His Excellency. As it respected the arrangement itself, it was altogether unnecessary. It appeared to have been made under the impression that the senior councillor must otherwise become the administrator of the government in the case supposed. But that was a mistake. When Mr. Smith was sworn into office there were two older Councillors than himself, Mr. Baby and Chief Justice Powell; neither of whom was forbidden by the Constitution to administer the Government. But no man is obliged to assume the office. He would now state the facts of this case, and leave every honest mind to judge whether there was any foundation for the abuse which had been heaped upon His Excellency. One of the Councillors, before they were sworn into office-(let

that be remembered)-suggested that, in case of His Excellency's death, the administration of the government should devolve on the hon. Mr. Allan. To this Mr. Sullivan readily assented, being anxious to be free from so great respon-And to place his wish beyond doubt, it was suggested by Mr. Sullivan that a writing should be drawn and signed by him, declaring that, in the event of the Government devolving on a Councillor, he would resign and make way for Mr. Allan. This conversation took place in presence of His Excellency, who was requested to draw an instrument to that effect. He did so, and it was signed by Mr. Sullivan; and Mr. Allan received it, and there the matter rested. It was no official document,-it was not done in Council, nor was any record made of it. It was a private arrangement between two gentlemen, with respect to which the Lieutenant Governor was perfectly indifferent. (Hear, hear!) Now, what does the Report state? states that when His Excellency was addressed by the House for information, he intimated—(mark the expression) -he "intimated that he knew of no such agreement, and that in fact no document of such a nature existed." Now, this was plainly a misrepresentation. His Excellency intimated no such thing; and to prove this, it will be most satisfactory to read the answer His Excellency did give to the Address of the House for information on this subject. It is as follows:-

"Gentlemen-I herewith transmit as much of the information desired by the House as I possess.

"I have entered into no bond or agreement, of any sort, with my present Executive Council, and I do not possess, nor does there exist in Council, any document of such a nature, between two or more of the said Council."

This answer was in the possession of the committee at the time they made the unfounded assertion contained in their Report. Any man of ingenuous disposition-any man who was not desirous of perverting the truth, would have at once seen that His Excellency, merely wished to inform the House, that officially he had no controul over any document such as was referred to, but that he by no means intended to convey the idea, that "no document of such a nature existed;" on the contrary, he very plainly intimated the reverse, and to prove that he had no objection to its being made public, and that he was ready to assist in its disclosure, he permitted Mr. Sullivan to appear before the Committee and state every thing he knew respecting the matter. Had His Excellency desired concealment he could have prevented this: and the Committee would then have been left without this new topic, upon which to assail the Lieutenant Governor. But, as an honest man, he had no desire to conceal the truth-all he asked, was, that the truth should be plainly told, and no false interpretations placed upon it. Much stress was laid upon Mr. Sullivan having expressed an unwillingness at first to state drew up the document. But why was he unwilling? doubtedly, because he suspected the dishonourable use that would be made by the Committee of that information. (Hear, hear!) But it would be a mere waste of time for him to attempt further to show how utterly impossible it was for any imputations to be fairly cast upon the character of His Excellency with regard to that transaction. What he had said had not been for the sake of convincing the Committee, or those who were already determined to sustain the Report, and all the slanders contained in it: but to show to the country the real nature of a transaction which had been so shamefully misrepresented, for party purposes. (Hear.)

He had detained the house a long time, but he hoped that the vast importance of the subject would form for him a sufficient apology. He had felt a deep and thrilling interest in the question before the house, and although he had no doubt as to the course which the majority would pursue, and that it would be of no avail for him to argue against the decision which had been already determined on, yet that regard which every patriotic man must feel for the prosperity of the country in which the interests of himself and his posterity are at stake, rendered it impossible that he should say less than he had. The subject was an exciting one, but he had endeavored to confine himself to a deliberate consideration and calm discussion of its true principles and merits, and of those prominent features of the Report which, from their connexion with the main question, seemed to possess some importance. He hoped that he had accomplished what he proposed at the commencement of his observations. He had noticed the origin of the Executive Councils—he had pointed out their legitimate functions, and how far their existence was identified with the Constitution. He had shown the real responsibility of Colonial Government; and had made it obvious that the system advocated by the late Council and in the Report, if indeed it might be called a system, would completely remove that responsibility from where alone it could safely rest, and would introduce in its stead a merely ideal responsibility, subverting the best interests of the country. and annihilating in it every vestige of British rule. (Hear, hear.) And now he would close his remarks by expressing his deep regret that men should be found occupying the important and distinguished places of representatives of a patriotic people, who would abuse the trust committed to

them, and avail themselves of their parliamentary privileges to traduce the character, and misrepresent the conduct, of as honest, upright, disinterested, straightforward, able, and truly patriotic a man as ever was entrusted by Britain's Monarch with the government of any Colony of the Empire, -(Hear, hear,)-a man whose only study was to maintain alike inviolate the prerogatives of his Sovereign, and the indefeasible rights of the people, (hear, hear;) whose most ardent desire was, to carry out in all their extent the benevolent designs of one of the most indulgent and patriotic Kings that ever wore the British Crown, (hear, hear;) and who still would persevere in accomplishing the important work entrusted to him, amidst all the obstacles which might be thrown in his way. (Hear, hear.) such was the individual against whom all the vituperative language of that laboured Report was directed; -such was the individual who, it might be almost said, immediately on his arrival, is accused of crimes and offences which, if true, ought not only to depose him from his exalted office, but ought for ever to close against him the door of civilized society. (Hear, hear.) He would not give that man credit for much strength of understanding, or honesty of principle, or goodness of heart, who would not decide that there was some other object kept in view, by the framers and advocates of that Report, than the investigation of constitutional principles. It spoke not the calm and dignified language of virtuous patriotism, but that of an unworthy and factious attempt to embarrass the administrator of the Government. That would be traced by every candid man in almost every paragraph, and it would produce in the country a very different effect from that which the supporters of it appeared to anticipate.—(Hear, hear.) He supposed that hon, members were resolved, however, to try the experiment. Well, let them do so. They had of course power to stop the supplies necessary for carrying on the Government in an advantageous manner; but there was another power from which theirs was derived; and it was for the people to decide whether it was for the peace, weldare, and good government of the Province that the Courts of Justice should be impeded in their important proceedings,-that the public offices should be shut up, and that the industrious farmer and mechanic should suffer from the suspension of all internal improvement. Yet such every hon. member knew must be the inevitable result of stopping the supplies.

But this, notwithstanding all the evils that would result from it, would undoubtedly be done; and then efforts would be made to persuade the country that it was done from a regard for their rights and interests. (Hear, hear.)

But the people would not believe it; there was too much intelligence in the country for such a deception to be practised upon its inhabitants. There was no Colony that possessed the power and the advantages which had been entrusted and granted to Upper Canada, for the benefit of those patriotic men who were among its first inhabitants, and who risked their lives, and sacrificed their property, in defence of British principles; yes, many of them had fought and bled for the sake of the privileges which they then enjoved under merely chartered governments. But the British Government, with that nobleness by which it has ever been distinguished, generously decreed a reward to their loyalty by increasing and greatly extending the privileges they had previously enjoyed, and conferred upon this Province that constitution which it was the object of the Report under consideration to subvert and destroy under the false pretences of supporting it. (Hear, hear.) Yes, the object could not be concealed, and the country will pronounce an equitable sentence on its authors and abettors. The powers entrusted to the Colonial Legislature were never intended to be exercised in the manner now contemplated. It never was supposed that an effort would be made to withhold the necessary supplies for carrying on the Government, because of a difference of opinion having arisen between the Governor and the majority of the House on a constitutional question; -and on a question which the Imperial Government alone could decide. What was the meaning of such a step? It was saying most distinctly, not to the Governor, for he had not power to grant what was demanded of him, but to the King, "Unless this question be decided according to our dictation we will refuse to co-operate with the Government, we will array ourselves against the constitutional powers of the King's representative, or in other words, against the King himself." (Hear, hear.) Such was the language spoken by the measure, and although it might be denied, it could not be disproved. A certain system is laid down by our Reformers in the Assembly, and it is designated responsible government; -it is asserted that it is the system acknowledged by the constitution, and the Governor is required to act upon it. He dissents, and states that he cannot view the constitution in that light, and therefore cannot, in accordance with his oath, administer the government on such principles; but he points to the imperial government as the only tribunal competent to award a decision, and to that decision he declares himself willing respectfully to bow. Why then does not the House wait for that decision? If hon, members were willing to abide by it, and to uphold the Constitution as it exists, why stop the Supplies? Such a step is evidently an attempt to in-

timidate the Government, and it loudly declares to King, "you must either decide that our construction of the constitution is right, or you must make such changes as will accord with the system we have demanded; and if you will not, we will not be governed by you." (Hear, hear.) Suppose the Government should decide that that system cannot be established without destroying all colonial dependency, what then must be done? The answer was obvious:-but there were more than 150,000 men, loyal and true, within this province, who would never consent to have the authority of the Sovereign trampled under foot; and never, without their concurrence, could the moral power of the Government be put down. (Hear, hear.) If the refusing to vote the Supplies would not open the eyes of the people, they would deserve to be slaves :- not the slaves of the British Monarch, for such a relation could not exist within the boundaries of his Empire,—(hear, hear,)—but the slaves of the present majority of the House of Assembly, whose eager grasping after uncontrolled power sufficiently proved how utterly disqualified they were for possessing it. (Hear, hear.) He was but an humble individual, and stood in a minority in that House; but, of that minority he was proud on the present occasion,-and he felt assured the cause he and his estimable friends were now advocating would be found to be the cause of the people, and that he was expressing the views of those who constituted the worth, and the intelligence, and the patriotism of the country. Whatever might be the result of that evening's discussion, and he had no expectation but that the Report would be adopted, it would afford him unmixed satisfaction to the latest period of his life, that he, and his respected friends around him, had lifted up their voices, and recorded their votes, against a measure so fraught with most disastrous consequences to the Province, and so directly at variance with every principle which ought to find a lodgment in a Briton's heart. (The hon, and learned gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud cheers from the crowded galleries, and the space below the bar.)

Mr. ROBLIN said, that, with regard to the document which had been spoken of between Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Allan, he was as well satisfied as any thing could be, when the Governor's reply was read, that he had been misinformed; and he was very much astonished when Mr. Sullivan told the committee there was such a paper.—But it is argued there is no such paper in Council. That was a way of getting along that he was not used to. But, leaving that matter, he would come to the question of responsible government. The constitution recognized "such Executive Council as shall be appointed by His Majesty for the affairs

of the Province." and therefore he argued that the Act. The hon, and learned created an Executive Council. Solicitor-General stated that the Report said the Governor should consult the Council upon all the affairs of the Gov-Now, it said no such thing; but the Royal Instructions said so, and also that the senior Councillor should administer the government in case of the death of the Governor. The simple question was, Ought we not to have a responsible Executive Council in this Province? Why not? He could not see how it was going to curtail the prerogative of the Crown, as it had been argued. the Lieutenant-Governor to have more power than the King himself? (Hear, hear!) He had an Executive Council, just as the King had his Privy Council; and from the Privy Council the King selected his Cabinet Council, whose advice he was to take upon all affairs of the government. (Hear, hear!) Whenever they gave advice, the King acted in accordance with it, so long as he retained them in office. The acts of the Government were the acts of the Council, and in that way their opinions went forth to the country. But, if they did not suit the views of a majority of the representatives of the people, the Council must go out of office; for it was contrary to all the principles of good government that two bodies should be constituted to act together who at the same time held views contrary to each other; just as the good book said, a house divided against itself could not stand. It was not required that if the Governor advised with the Council he should act with that advice; but it was wished to know who did anything for the good of the country and who did not. If they were paid £500 a year, he would like to know what good they did for it. If they gave the Governor advice and he did not please to act according to it, the House of Assembly wanted to know it, that in such case the matter might be submitted to the decision of His Majesty's Government. If they say, we approve of your course, and you may dismiss your Council, he would of course do so. He takes another; but they cannot agree with the people. Here we are at a stand, and obliged to recur to first principles, and ask for what purpose governments were instituted, if it was not for the good of the people? That should be the foundation of all governments, the welfare of the people. And were not the people of Upper Canada to be the judges of what was for their own good, and what was not? or was the Colonial Minister at 4000 miles distant to be judge of what was for our good, and tell us, "You must swallow whatever I please to cram down your throat, whether you like it or not?" These were his opinions on government, and he was satisfied that on no other principle could it exist.

people of this Province could look to other countries where government was thus administered, they would not be contented so long as the present state of things existed here, and while the rights enjoyed by others were denied to them. If the Governor could not agree with the Representatives of the people, they being a factious set of fellows like the present House of Assembly, let him dissolve them and appeal to the people. Should he do this, and a majority of the same sentiments be again returned, what was to be done? Could we get on in this way? Surely the British Government had no desire, and could have no interest, in persisting to govern this Colony in a manner contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants. The hon, and learned Solicitor General had told the house in pretty plain terms that it was unconstitutional to stop the Supplies; but they had the opinions of Mr. Stanley and Lord Glenelg against the opinion of the hon, and learned Solicitor, which he was inclined to think was quite as good authority. Governor was sent out here, who, under all the circumstances, could not administer the government according to the wishes of the representatives of the people, he (Mr. R.) would say, give us another Governor or another House of Assembly. He had thought seriously upon the question of withholding the supplies, and had come to the conclusion that it was best to do so at the present time; for then they would bring matters to an issue at once, and see who was right. The question of course would be referred to His Majesty's Government; and they would have to recal the Governor or turn out the Assembly as often as they were elected, until they agreed.

The Executive Council ought, in his opinion, to be responsible to the people; he would not take upon him to say they were so at present, but they should be so, that it might be known who it was that gave the advice by which the Government was conducted. At present it was never known whether it was by the advice of the Council, or some other persons, or whether the Governor acted as he pleased himself. His Excellency had provoked this discussion, and "dragged the question into day-light;" and in one of his documents he had admitted that he should advise with his Councill, for he says he cannot divulge which of the members of his Council advises him, which plainly implied that he should consult them. If he agreed with the Council, he might in his public documents say, "I have done so with the advice of my Executive Council;" or "on my own responsibility," if he disagreed with them. There was nothing in his oath which in his (Mr. R.'s) opinion prevented him from doing this, although he might not divulge which of the members gave him the advice by which he acted.

His Excellency says, "whenever embarrassment requires it he must draw upon their sterling fund," meaning their advice; that is, he will in ordinary affairs think and act for himself: but whenever, perhaps by his own unadvised mismanagement, the affairs of the government gets into embarrassment, he will ask their advice, that they may bear all the odium of the measures he has pursued. Then, he goes on to say, "if they faithfully honour his bills, they fulfil their duty to their oath, their Sovereign, and to him." What he meant by honouring his bills, he, (Mr. R.) being a plain farmer, might not understand so well as some others, but he believed it meant this,-when one merchant draws a bill upon another, his friend pays it according to instructions received from the drawer; and His Excellency must, therefore, mean that if the Council approved of the "remedial measures" which he told the House he was preparing, they discharged their duty. He could not agree with His Excellency in this limited interpretation of the powers and duties of the Executive Council as they were set forth in the Constitutional Act and the King's Instructions, for the latter say, "You are to communicate to them such and so many of these our Instructions, &c., and all such others from time to time as you shall find convenient for our service." What did the word convenient mean, upon which so much stress had been laid? Not that it would be inconvenient to ask their advice upon all occasions; but the better to enlighten their judgments and inform their minds, in order that "impartiality" might be assisted by "knowledge," he should communicate to them the views of His Majesty's Government as often as he might find it convenient to enable them to come to a judicious and proper decision. That was what he considered the word "convenient," in the Instructions, to mean. The Governor, at the conclusion of his reply, tells the Council, that, "to the opinions they have expressed he can never subscribe." What were those opinions? Not that they might be allowed to tell the advice they gave, but simply to inform the public when they advised a measure and when they did not. But no, he tells them he will not allow them to do so; "The country shall not know whether you advised me in the course I have pursued or not."

The adoption of the resolution before the House would decide the question whether the Supplies were to be stopped or not. To do so he acknowledged was a strong measure, it was the last resource; but what was to be done? That House and the Country had addressed His Majesty's Government for the last four or five years, setting forth that there was no Established Church in Upper Canada, and praying that there might be none

established and endowed, but that the Clergy Reserves might be devoted to general education. But how had they been respected or answered? In the last year no less than fifty-seven Rectories had been established and endowed out of those Reserves. Were they to grant the Supplies and again address His Majesty and say, "We pray your Majesty this system may not be continued?" (Hear.) No; if there ever was a time, or if there ever could be a proper time, to stop the Supplies, it was now. Let His Majesty's Government be plainly told, "if you will not attend to our representations, we will not support your Government;" that was the meaning of stopping Supplies, and he hoped it would wake them up to pay attention to our affairs. Whether his constituents would approve of the vote he was about to give, he could not tell; but it never had been any advantage to him to be a representative of the people, and he was willing cheerfully to retire into private life, if the people would not support him in taking what he willingly acknowledged, was a bold stand-a very important step, but which he thought, all the circumstances of the times required. He had, however, made up his mind on the subject, and was prepared to vote for withholding the Supplies.

MR. PARKE observed, that the principal arguments against a responsible Executive Council in this Province seemed to be, that it would destroy the power of the mother country in the colony. But it should be remembered that England, when she passed our constitutional act, reserved to herself the power of regulating our trade and commerce, and retained in her hands the whole patronage of the government. For what was this done? To maintain her control over the affairs of the colony. But that she should exercise any such control through the Executive Council, was never intended when the act was passed. That Council was not appointed by any law, but by the principle upon which all laws were founded, that of safety and protection against oppression; and to take away that check over the Executive Government would be the very essence of tyranny. The Government of Upper Canada must be administered by an Executive Council responsible to the House of Assembly; for it never could be intended by the people of Great Britain, that their fellow subjects in Upper Canada should be degraded into the condition of slaves. The Governor, we were told, was responsible to Downing Street: but had they ever been called to account for tyrannizing over the people? No; but they were praised when they exercised their power for the interest of those who appointed them. The hon, and learned Solicitor General said the powers of the Executive Council were derived from the King's Instructions; but he (Mr. P.) contended that he had no right to give such instructions without Act of Parliament. (Hear, hear.)

MR. NORTON.—After the very severe castigation which the hon, and learned gentleman from Cornwall (Mr. McLean) has been pleased to bestow upon me for the crime of having been born in the United States, it may be considered presumption in me to say one word upon a subject of this nature. I will give the hon, and learned gentleman all the advantage, and all the honour that he is entitled to, for having made the discovery that a man was disgraced in consequence of his birth-place. I have seen, Mr. Speaker, men, nay even hon, and learned gentlemen, whose conduct was a disgrace to the high station they held, to themselves and to the country that gave them birth: (hear, hear,) but that the country should disgrace the man, is a discovery left for no less an honourable, noble, and generous personage than the gentleman from Cornwall to make. That man who is so lost to the noblest feelings of our nature, as not feel a glow of pride at the mention of his native land, is indeed only fit to become the base and abject slave of such a man as the hon. and learned gentleman has upon this occasion shown himself to be. The law in your Statute book, Sir, has made me eligible to a seat in this House, and the spontaneous and united voice of as intelligent, patriotic, and loyal a people as Upper Canada can boast has done me the honour to send me here, and they expect that I will do my duty to my God, my King, and my Constituents; and, Sir, I shall not shrink from the task upon this occasion, notwithstanding the sneering taunts, which no gentleman would make, but which could have emanated from no other than the hon. and learned member. (Hear, hear.) Thee hon, and learned gentleman says, grievances are preached continually, which are sickening to the ear-I doubt not, Mr. Speaker, but such cries are sickening to the ears of the hon. gentleman, but was he ever known to lend a helping hand to redress those grievances, has he not invariably denied that there existed any grievances? has been pleased to laud the people of this Province for their intelligence and discrimination, and warned the majority of this House that the people were too intelligent and too enlightened to be duped by any artifice, from asserting and maintaining those just rights. how long since that hon, and learned gentleman has made the discovery? Has he not invariably opposed every measure giving the people a voice in the management even of their local affairs? Has he not invariably scouted the idea of consulting the people?-If the records of your journal since the first day of his taking a seat in the House of Assembly, answer the question, among specimens of his regard for the people you will find his support for the celebrated Gagging Bill, preventing these enlightened and intelligent people from meeting and petitioning for a redress of these grievances. (Hear, hear.) No surer proof however can be given of the march of intelligence in the county which he formerly represented, than that the people very plainly told him they had no further need for his valuable services. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the question before you, the hon, and learned Solicitor General, (the only hon, gentleman opposed to it, who had undertaken to use any argument,) had really made out our case most admirably. The whole drift of his argument was to show us that the Executive Council of this Province was exactly similar to that body in England called the Privy Council, and he has quoted several authorities to prove this fact. Well, Mr. Speaker, what else do we contend for: this is all we have ever asserted. and we complain that although a similar body, and constituted for similar purposes, yet they cling to office after having entirely lost the confidence of the people. Yet while the Solicitor admits that we have the "very image and transcript of the British Constitution," His Excellency denies it,-(hear, hear,)-and he is the first person in the Province who has ever done so. Those very hon. gentlemen, who now say it would be the greatest curse that could be inflicted upon this Province, if we had responsible Executive, should refresh their memories before they so loudly proclaimed their own inconsistency. Did not our Address to His Majesty in the last Parliament, respecting the Banks, declare, in the most emphatic language, the necessity of a responsible Government? did not that address receive the support and the vote of every rember in that House? Let us come a little nearer the resent. period: let hon. gentlemen look at the Resolution upon which an Address was founded to His Excellency on the 14th of last month, upon the subject of the late Council, which reads as follows:

"Mr. Perry, seconded by Mr. Chas. Duncombe, moves that it be Resolved, That this House considers the appointment of a responsible Executive Council to advise the Lieutenant Governor, or person administering the government of the affairs of this Province, to be one of the most happy and wise features in our Constitution, and essential in our form of government, and as being one of the strongest securities for a just and equitable administration of the government, and full enjoyment of our civil and religious rights and privileges."—(Hear, hear.)

Now, Mr. Speaker, this resolution was adopted after a whole day's debate, and upon which there was a call of the house, and when there were fifty-five members present, (the fullest House we have had during the present session,) and when the yeas and nays were called for, the only members found to oppose it were Messrs. Boulton and Malloch. (Hear, hear.) But, sir, when these hon. learned gentlemen found that such was not the opinion of Sir F, B. Head, they immediately change their colours, (hear, hear,) and now denounce this very principle as the most absurd and wicked principle ever agitated in this House. What are we to think? What will the public think of such men and such conduct? I will ask hon. gentlemen to satisfy their own consciences and the country for this (to use the mildest term) most gross and flagrant inconsistency, and dismiss from my mind the humiliating reflections which their conduct has created. During the whole discussion, not one argument of my hon, friend from Lennox and Addington (Mr. Perry) has been answered: sir, they are unanswerable, as well as those of my hon. friend from Prince Edward (Mr. Roblin.) I trust, Mr. Speaker, that I feel deeply the responsibility of this day's proceedings, of the vast importance of the question now We have arrived at a most critical juncture in before us. the history of this Province. The fate of this measure doubtless decides whether we are to enjoy the "very image and transcript of the British Constitution," or whether we are to have a mutilated and degraded one; whether we are to have a constitutional and responsible government, possessing the confidence and affections of the people, whether we are to be governed by the arbitrary will of an irresponsible vacillating Executive. We are called upon to protect the sacred rights and privileges for which the brave U. E. Loyalists nobly struggled and nobly bled. Those rights and privileges which are the palladium of our liberties, one of the foremost pillars in the British Constitution. Those rights and privileges which form the basis of every free and enlightened government throughout the world, viz. responsibility to the people. (Hear, hear.) When therefore shall this house assert with independent dignity, a resolute and unequivocal declaration of those sacred rights and privileges secured to us by that Constitution, which, from our earliest infancy, we have been taught to reverence and obey? When, I say, shall we stand forth in its defence, but in the instant of its most imminent danger? Low indeed shall we be placed in the scale of human nature if we quietly suffer ourselves to be longer governed by a secret, unknown, and unconstitutional influence, base in itself as it is treacherous in its conse-

An administration such as this can only receive the support of those who know no higher and more noble principles to actuate their conduct, than the aspiring to or obtaining some office of emolument, and who are willing to obtain and hold them by no worthier tenure than secret influence. Every true friend to his country cannot but admit, however, that a responsible Government, possessing the confidence of the people, is the only government that can secure the country against the infinite abuses so natural to the possession and exercise of power. we unfortunately ever become so unmindful of our interests as to suffer this great bulwark of our Constitution and of our liberty to be wrested from us, we should soon become the miserable and abject slaves of a secret despotism. So long as the Governor is guided by a secret, intriguing, underhand influence, the Executive Council act the part of puppets to some unknown juggler behind the screen. (Hear, hear.) They are not allowed to consult their own opinions, but must pay implicit homage to those whom they know not, and perhaps whom but to know were but to despise. (Cries of hear, hear, hear.) The only rule that guides them is a secret mandate which carries along with it no other alternative than obedience or ruin. What man, who has the feeling, the honor, the spirit, or the heart of a man, would stoop to such a degraded condition for any official dignity or emolument whatever. Council who would act so dishonorable a part, and the country that would submit to it, would be mutual plagues and curses to each other. What, sir, is the distinction between an absolute and a limited monarchy but that the sovereign in the one is a despot and may do what he pleases; while in the other, he is himself subjected to the laws, and consequently not at liberty to advise with any one who is not responsible for that advice. The prerogatives of the Crown are by no means to be exerted in a wanton and arbitrary manner. The good of the whole is the exclusive object to which all the branches of the Legislature and their different powers invariably should point. It is undoubtedly the prerogative of the Crown to select the Council, but to secure the blessings of good government that Council must possess the confidence of the public. That Governor must be bold indeed, who dares to despise and reject the voice of the people, and short must be the duration of that administration that is not upheld by the popular will. Is there an individual here who feels for his honour, so lost to every honourable, every patriotic feeling, so regardless of his dearest and most sacred rights and privileges, as to feel callous and indifferent in such a crisis as this? If there be, then I say that man is unworthy to enjoy, because he cannot duly appreciate the blessings secured to him by that Constitution which been the glory and the pride of ages. Sir, I fear not the result of this most important crisis, I feel confident that the characteristic spirit of British subjects is still equal to the trial. I trust they will feel as jealous of secret influence as they are to open violence. (Hear, hear.) trust they are not more ready to defend their interests against foreign depredation and insult than to encounter and defeat this midnight conspiracy against the constitution. We are now deliberating on the life and blood of our constitution. Give up the point of responsibility to the people, and we seal our own quietus, and are accessory to our own insignificance and destruction. Though we have been most unjustly deprived of our just weight in the constitution, yet if we acquit ourselves honourably to our constituents, to our friends, to our own consciences, to the public, whose trustees we are, and for whom we act, we shall come out of this struggle honourably and triumphantly. I have too much confidence in the justice and the magnanimity of the British Government to suppose for one moment that they will oppose our wishes-wishes founded so strong in justice, and so dear to our best Whoever wished for the liberty secured to us by interests. the constitution, whoever wished for good government, whether he be a whig or a tory, conservative or radical, they should equally unite in wishing for the removal of the present administration, because until this is done there can be neither freedom of constitution nor energy of government. I have seriously reflected on the course I ought to pursue upon this momentous question, and I deliberately declare, that I have never in my life supported any measure with a firmer conviction of duty. (Hear, hear.) The glorious cause of freedom, of reform, of civil and religious liberty, and of the constitution in its purity, ever has, and ever shall receive my deliberate support. Thus far this course has borne me up, under every aspersion to which my character has been subjected. resentment of the mean, the aversions of the great, the rancour of the vindictive, and the subtilty of the base, the dereliction of friends, and the efforts of enemies have never succeeded in diverting me from what I believed to be my conscientious duty.

(Mr. Norton's speech is copied from the Correspondent and Advocate, and the Reporter of the Guardian perceives that the commencement of it is a reply to some remarks made by Mr. McLean which were not heard by him, and therefore do not appear in the report of that gentleman's speech.)

MR. ROBINSON said, he supposed he would be the only member for the Home District that would vote against the resolution, and therefore would take the liberty of making two or three remarks. The differences on this question had been called "a matter of dry law," but it would not appear to be a very dry subject to any one who had attentively listened to the speech of the hon, and learned Solicitor General. It was a speech full of argument and historical information. He thought it was so utterly impracticable to have an Executive Council responsible to the House of Assembly, that it could never have been the intention of His Majesty's Government that such a responsibility should exist. He must say, that when he has heard these measures brought forward under the name of Reform, he always feared they did not intend Reform but Revolution. The history of all Revolutions would show the specious names by which those measures were called which finally thus terminated. (Hear, hear.) regard to withholding the Supplies, hon, members should ask themselves before doing so, whether the end would justify the means. He thought not. So much had already been so well said, that he would not take up any more time.

MR. PERRY remarked, that the hon, gentleman before he sat down, observed that so much had been said on his side of the question that it was uscless for him to say any thing more. Now, in the name of common sense, what had they said to support the position of His Excellency? Was it any thing said by the hon. and learned member for Hamilton? His arguments were, that some members of the majority of that house had been made Captains of Militia and Justices of the Peace. But his hon, friends from Dundas and stormont (Messrs, Shaver and Chisholm) when they were appointed were great tories, but they saw their error and left the ranks of the tories, because they saw it was a wicked system. Indeed, the minority seemed broken down in spirit as well as argument during the discussion. The only thing on which they seemed to be animated was concerning the remark he made, that the junior clerks of the Council were sworn to secrecy, which they said was unlawful, &c.; but there was no law which required the senior clerk to be sworn, and yet it was well known that he was. What then had they made of it? Then they seemed to turn into ridicule what he (Mr. P.) said about the Governor having power to declare war; but what did the King's Instructions to the Governor say? "You shall not make war." Were hon. gentlemen satisfied now? (Hear, hear, and laughter.) That was just what he expected from ignorance. "You

shall not make war except in some special emergency." Did not that very exception give him the power? Most certainly it did. Had it been shown that there was any difference between the oath of the Executive Councillors here and the Privy Councillors in England? The Privy Council and the Cabinet Council were the same;—all the members of the Privy Council were not Cabinet Councillors, but all Cabinet Councillors were Privy Councillors. They were not properly two offices; but the Cabinet Councillors held the seals of office so long and no longer than they retained the confidence of the people. There was not one letter of the law which required the King to take the advice of the Cabinet Council, yet it was invariably done; and what he contended for was, that the practice pursued in England ought to be followed in this Province.

MR. MERRITT wished to say a few words on this It was a matter of great importance; but he did not agree with the sentiments of any hon. members who had spoken on it. The late Council say, they wish the course to be pursued which they proposed, in order to prevent the adoption of other measures uncongenial to the constitution of the country; and the majority of the house pursued the same means to attain a different end. There was some inconsistency here which he could not comprehend. He neither entirely approved of the measures of the Governor nor those of that house. It was constitutional and right to refuse the Supplies when it was necessary to do so; but he did not think it was necessary in the present stage of the question; for he was satisfied that if they would calmly and temperately discuss it, and point out the remedy, they would obtain it. It was admitted he believed on all hands, that some change was necessary: but there was difference of opinion respecting what that change should be. He found fault with the Colonial Office for dismissing the Crown Officers; and he was of opinion that there were too frequent changes at that Office, and not that stability in our Colonial Government which was necessary for the public good. dismissed officers for the expression of their opinions. We also saw persons go home and make representations about our institutions, for instance the representations that were made by a certain individual concerning our Banking Institutions, and these were adopted and attempted to be forced upon us to the ruin of the country. Such things If that house would make such should be prevented. representation to England as he had mentioned, he thought they would get the change desired; but if they adopted the Report and stopt the Supplies, he could see no good that would result from it. They were going on in the same track as Lower Canada, and would get into the same difficulties, which they could not tell what would be the end of. He was satisfied this course of conduct would not result in the good of the country. He was constrained to vote against the Report, and could not consent to withhold the Supplies.

MR. DURAND said, that when the hon, and learned Solicitor-General got up, he (Mr. D.) expected that he would dissect the Report, and tear it all to pieces. hon, and learned gentleman said he had taken notes, and that he would give it a showing up. But what had he He had made a long speech with nothing in it. He had attempted to defend the Governor in the course he had taken; because, no doubt, the hon. and learned gentleman had whispered in the royal ear as a secret At the beginning of the Session the hon. and learned gentleman had said he was willing to go all lengths to meet reformers; but, when he found he could blow into the royal ear, he turned round, and said he had not yet The Report before the House was reached his meridian. an important and able one, and when it reached England it would procure redress of the public grievances. It would show that the House was determined to take a firm stand. A good deal had been said against stopping the Supplies, but that was the only remedy which the representatives of the people had in their hands. He would repeat what he had before said, that this was the most important measure that had been discussed this Session, and reformers would now get their rights. The tories, who opposed the Report, were completely foiled, and were afraid to come up to the scratch. The great question was, Shall we have responsible government or not? He hoped we should, and for that reason he would support the Report. He was not afraid to go back to his constituents, and tell them he had done his duty. The Tories were the persons who had reason to be afraid. If the country should decide against him, he could not help it. He had not come here from personal choice, or for his own interest, but to promote the good of the country; and he should vote for the resolution, because he believed it was his duty to do so.

MR. RICHARDSON rose amidst loud cries of "question." He said, if he were not in the minority he should not hear so much clamour on rising, from those who were afraid of discussion. He thought as it was late, the debate ought to be adjourned. (Confused cries of "hear, hear," "go on," &c.) It was now proposed to stop the supplies; but was it just to those who were opposed to that measure, to bring on the question when it

was only 48 hours to the close of the session, and therefore not time to discuss it? (More confusion.) His opinion most decidedly was, that these proceedings were carried on in concert with the Papineau party in Lower Canada, in order to effect a change in our Constitution and break off the connexion with the mother country. (The cries of "question," "hear him," "go on," "go a-head," coughing, &c. increased to such a degree that the hon. gentleman could not be heard, and was obliged to sit down.)

Mr. Perry's amendment was adopted, and on the original question as amended, the yeas and nays were taken as follows:

YEAS. NAYS. Messieurs Alway, Messieurs Boulton. Bruce, Brown, Caldwell, Buell, Chisholm. Dunlop, Cook. Lewis. Duncombe, of Ox-McCrae. ford. McDonell, of Duncombe, of Glengarry, McDonell, of Nor-Norfolk. Durand. thumberland. McKay, Gibson. Gilchrist, McLean. Hopkins, McNab. Howard. Malloch. Lount, Merritt, McDonell, of Richardson, Stormont. Robinson, McIntosh, Rykert, Mackenzie. Solicitor General McMicking, Strange, Moore, Thom, Morrison, Walsh. Norton. Wilkinson,---21. Parke, Perry, Roblin. Rymal, Shaver, Small. Thorburn, Waters, Wells, Wilson. Woolverton Yager,—32.

Majority for the Adoption of the Report, sending it and the Memorial to England, stopping the Supplies, &c.—11.



WILLIAM CANNIFF, M.D., M.R.C.S., Eng. Born 30th June, A.D. 1830 Died 18th Oct., A.D. 1910



# LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# PAPERS AND RECORDS

VOL. IX

### THE CANNIFF COLLECTION

BEING A NUMBER OF PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS
PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY THE
LATE DR. WILLIAM CANNIFF

COMPILED AND EDITED
By WALTER S. HERRINGTON, K.C.

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## ILLUSTRATION

The late William Canniff, M.D., M.R.C.S., Eng....Frontispiece

#### CHRONOLOGY

Society OrganizedMay 9th, 1907		
Constitution AdoptedJune 11th, 1907		
•		
First Open MeetingOct. 25th, 1907		
Affiliated with Ontario Historical SocietyMarch 31st, 1908		
PAPERS AND RECORDS PUBLISHED		
Vol. I. Chronicles of Napaneejune 12th, 1909		
Vol. II. Early EducationSept. 19th, 1910		
Vol. III. The Casey Scrap Books (Part I)Nov. 15th, 1911		
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Vol. V. The Bell and Laing School PapersMarch 14th, 1914		
Vol. VI. Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, by W. S. Herrington, K.CMay 4th, 1915		
Vols. VII and VIII. (Double Number).  The Constitutional Debate in the Legislative Assembly of 1836, with Introduction by William Renwick Riddell, LL.D., F. R. Hist., etcNov. 7th, 1916		

## OFFICERS, 1917

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#### Introduction

Two years before his death Dr. William Canniff gave to Mr. Clarance M. Warner for the Lennox and Addington Historical Society several hundred documents which he had been treasuring for years. At page 100 in his Settlement of Upper Canada, in commenting upon John Ferguson, he writes, "It has been our good fortune to come into possession of a good many public and private letters penned by his hand, and invaluable information has thus been obtained." Again at page 547 he says, "Through the kindness of Mr. Sager, of the front of Thurlow, grandson of the late Colonel William Bell, we have had placed in our possession a portion of the papers left by Colonel Bell, of an official and semi-official character." The papers referred to in the passages just quoted are among the ones that were given to Mr. Warner, and were by him classified and catalogued under five headings:-Case number 14 "Muster Rolls and Returns", Case number 15 "Personal Papers", Case number 16 "School Accounts, etc.", Case number 17 "Militia Papers", and Case-number 17 (a) "Memoirs and School Papers". A catalogue of these papers may not be very interesting reading for the ordinary member of the Society, but to many others whom our publications reach, they will be of great interest, and may point the way to much useful information not to be gathered from any other If Dr. Canniff prized them so highly nearly half a century ago, they certainly have not deteriorated since they came into his possession. The "School Papers" were reproduced in Volume V. of the Papers and Records of our Society, and in the same volume will be found a brief biographical sketch of Colonel William Bell. Dr. Canniff frequently refers to John Ferguson in his history, particularly in Chapters X. and LII. He was Lieutenant of the County of Hastings, and later Colonel of the Militia and as such exercised a general supervision over all military affairs of that County. Bell, during the period covered by the correspondence, rose from the ranks to be a Lieutenant-Colonel and received all of his orders from Ferguson. William Bell figures in many other capacities in these papers. He was a farmer, storekeeper, Justice of the Peace, Coroner, and for a time a teacher in the Mohawk reserve. Throughout his entire career he kept in close touch with Ferguson, with whom there was a sort of partnership in many of his business transactions. They were, I believe, related by marriage. Bell was always very respectful towards Ferguson, and the latter did not hesitate to administer a severe reproof when he thought the occasion demanded it.

Case number 14 contains a large number of Muster Rolls and Militia Returns. These were the bane of Wm. Bell's existence. He coaxed, scolded and threatened his subordinate officers in his endeavors to make these out fully and promptly, and he in his turn was coaxed, scolded and threatened because he did not secure and forward them to his superior officer.

W. S. HERRINGTON.

# The Canniff Collection

(Case Number 15.)

The following is a list of the contents of Case No. 15:

- 1. Letter from David Bell, Ireland, to his brother, William Bell, dated 7th November, 1779.
- 2. Order from Reuben Pitcher for seven shillings in favor of Wm. Bell, dated 1786.
- 3. Letter from John Grant to Wm. Bell, complaining of hard times, dated at La Chine, February 21st, 1787.
- 4. Receipt from Adam Gordon to Wm. Bell, dated Montreal, 1788.
- 5. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, from Elizabethtown, holding out inducements for Bell to join him in a "job" he expects to get from the Government, dated 18th December, 1788.
- 6. Letter from James Woods to Wm. Bell, dated 1st October, 1788.
- 7. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, dated 4th July, 1789.
- 8. Letter from John Ferguson to William Bell, authorizing the purchase of a feather bed at an auction for one pound, dated 8th August, 1789.
- 9. Letter from John Ferguson at Kingston to Wm. Bell at La Chine, complaining of hard times and advising him not to go to the northwest, dated 31st March, 1788.
- 10. Letter from Capt. D. MacDougall at La Chine to Wm. Bell, "Kingstown", regarding purchase of lands, dated 4th August, 1789.
- 11. Letter from John Blaken to Wm. Bell, dated 22nd September, 1790. In this letter the following description of a novel surgical operation appears: "The day after you left me I was taken with a violent nose bleeding, and continued for 24 hours, and I suppose would have continued until now if my father-in-law had not butchered my arm with a broken lance to turn the course of the blood, and has lamed my arm so that I am unable to do anything ever since."
- . 12. Letter from John Ferguson, of Kingston, to Wm. Bell, of Sidney, regarding conditions at Kingston, dated 15th October, 1790.

12 (a). A letter similar to number 12, dated 11th

November, 1790.

13. Letter from J. Grant of La Chine, to Wm. Bell, of Sidney, complaining of hard times, dated 20th February, 1790.

14. Record of laundry lists in Wm. Bell's handwriting, extending over several weeks. The following is a fair sample: "Sydney, Oct. 4th, 1790, 4 shirts, 3 westcoats, 2 pr. trousers, 3 handkerchiefs, 1 pr. breeches, 2 pair stockings, 1 night cap, 1 table cloath."

15. Letter, John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, dated 11th

March, 1790.

16. Order, Joseph Pritchard, dated 5th June, 1791.

17. Order, John German, 1st July, 1791.

18. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, asking for butter, meat and lumber, etc., dated 3rd April, 1791.

- 18 (a). Letter, John Ferguson, of Kingston, to Wm. Bell, of Sydney, again complaining of hard times, dated 12th May, 1791.
- 19. Letter from John Ferguson, at Sydney, to Wm. Bell, at Kingston, dated 23rd July, 1791. "Send a memorandum of what you want from Canada. I think I heard you say you had a quantity of apple seed. If you can spare any send me a little. I mean to have a couple Canadians for the winter."
- 19 (a). Letter from John Ferguson, Kingston, to Wm. Bell, Sydney, complaining of shortage of potatoes and garden seeds, dated 17th April, 1791.
- 20. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, reprimanding him for quarrelling, dated 20th May, 1792.
- 21. Contract for the manufacture of shingles at \$3.00 per thousand, dated 27th November, 1792.
- 22. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, regarding the sowing of fall grain, dated 20th August, 1792.
- 23. Letter from Wm. Bell, of Thurlow, to Robert McCauley, at Kingston, dated 6th October, 1793. The following is an extract: "Your goodness gives me courage to make another request of your favours which is to be so kind as to send me a few more necessaries which will augment my acct. with you, and I am in hopes to have it in my power to discharge the whole in the course of the next season, the following is the articles I stand much in need of at present, viz.,

3 gallons best rum 2 ditto port wine a loaf of sugar a quire writing paper 1 lb. green tea".

- 24. Letter from S. Aitkins, of York, to Wm. Bell, of Thurlow, regarding allotment of lands, dated 28th August, 1793.
- 25. Letter from John Ferguson, respecting a lawsuit over the sale of lot 31, in the first concession of Sydney, for £50, dated 1793.
- 26. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, dated 16th Nov., 1793.
- 26 (a). Letter from Wm. Bell to S. Aitkins, asking for an allotment of lot 37 in the first concession of Sydney, dated 25th June, 1793.
- 27. Last will of David Vanderhider, as follows: "In the name of God, Amen, I David Vanderhider of Thurlow, being weak in body but of sound memory (bleased be God) do this day, being the twenty-first of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, make and publish this my last will and testament in manner following (that is to say) I give my beloved friend Phillip Sweek all the following articles vizt, one broad ax, one brass kettle, and one iron pott, now in the possession of Mr. John McArthur of Murray in the District of Northumberland and likewise to receive from the said McArthur wages from the first of Novr. till April being five months and payment for thirty-five bushels of potatoes two bushells of wheat at seven shillings and six pence pr bushell which I bought from Mr. John Chisholm and one bushell of wheat which I bought from Mr. Archd. Chisholm at seven shillings and six pence pr bushell, mushrat skins in the fall of the year to the ammount of one pound eighteen shillings to your son out of which I had one yard and a quarter of cloath two weeks wages in the fall helping you to move your things from Thurlow to Murray geting stone for chimney back and digging a cellar (till the bay was froze up) four gallons and a half of rum at seven shillings and six pence pr gallon a hogg which I paid two dollars for in the begining of winter and kept it all winter and next summer and in the fall Mr. McArthur fatted it and made use of it, two buck skins and two doe skins, the whole of the above mentioned articles I give and bequeath to the before mentioned Phillip Sweek his heirs and assigns, he first paying the said McArthur for the following articles vizt, two arm bands valued at five shillings each five scalping knives, one pound of powder and four pounds of shott, four tommeyhawks valued at two shillings and six pence each and one quarter of a pound of vermillion and I make and ordain the before mentioned Phillip Sweek the sole executor of this my last will in trust for the interests and purposes in this my last will contained in wittness whereof I the said David Vanderhider have to this my last will and

testament set my hand and sail the day and year above mentioned.

Signed sealed and delivered by the ) said David Vanderhider as for his ) last will and testament in presence ) of us who were present at the sign-) ing and sealing thereof

his David x Vanderhider mark

Wm. Bell.

- 28. Letter from Wm. Bell, of Thurlow, to George Irlinson, asking for the loan of £5, dated 6th February, 1795.
- 29. Information and warrant for the arrest of William Bell for assault, dated 15th September, 1796.
- 30. Letter from Wm. Bell at Mohawk village to John Ferguson, dated 26th April, 1798, imploring him to join him in a project for the building and operating of a still house.
- 31. Letter from John Grant to Sergt. Wm. Bell, dated June 10th, 1797.
- 32. Form of contract for the loan of a pair of steers to be returned in three years "at which time they are to be well broken and in good order saving accidents by thunder or lightning or the bite of a snake".
- 33. Letter from A. Chisholm to Wm. Bell, dated 12th November, 1797.
- 34. Dunning letter from William Dougall of Hallowell to Wm. Bell, dated March 11th, 1800.
- 35 Letter, James Irvine, J.P., to Robert Land, severely reprimanding him for his dissolute habits.
- 36. Letter from Surveyor General's office to Timothy Thomson, Esq., M.P., regarding the location of a lot, dated 31st October, 1801.
- 37. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, respecting the purchase of uniforms, dated 10th March, 1801.
- 38. Receipt and release from Abm. Allen to Wm. Bell, dated 27th March, 1802.
- 39. Dunning letter from John Kirby to Wm. Bell, dated 38th Jany., 1804.
- 40. Certificate of good character from John Stuart, formerly missionary to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter, N. York, to Captain John Deserontyon, dated 9th September, 1806. This document is endorsed, signed and sealed by W. Hans, D.L.G.
- 41. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, dated 1st June, 1805.
- 42. Letter from the Deputy Surveyor of His Majesty's woods to Wm. Bell, dated 10th May, 1810.
  - 43. Letter from Jas. McNabb, at York, to Col. Wm.

Bell, respecting lots in Thurlow, dated 23rd July, 1810.

- 44. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, complaining of the scarcity of flour in Kingston, dated 8th July, 1811.
- 45. Letter to Wm. Bell from his nephew, Jacob H. Bell, of Montreal, who left Ireland two years before and had been hunting for his uncle ever since, dated 1813.
- 46. Receipt of Wm. Bell for large quantities of flour and peas to be delivered by him at Kingston, dated 8th February, 1814.
- 47. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, regarding the transport of Indian goods, dated 27th February, 1815.
- 48. Letter from L. McNabb to Wm. Bell, complaining that Bell had assessed him as a merchant, dated 10th April, 1815.
- 49. Recognizance taken before Wm. Bell, J.P., at Thurlow, on October 20th, 1815, for the appearance of the prosecutor, and also of the accused at the next general sessions of the peace for the Midland district to be holden at Adolphustown.
- 50. Public notice by Wm. Bell, Lt.-Col. of the 1st regiment of Hastings militia, calling upon the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance, dated 21st October, 1812.
- 51. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, exhorting him to drill his men well and maintain the reputation already acquired of having the best regiment in the district, dated 14th June, 1816.
- 52. Receipt for twenty shillings, being Wm. Bell's subscription to Kingston Gazette, dated 25th July, 1815.
- 53. Letter from Jas. McNabb at York to Wm. Bell, at Thurlow, regarding the location of lands for which Bell had forwarded applications, also suggesting that a petition be sent in for the division of the district, dated 16th February, 1817.
- 54. Letter from Alex. Taylor to Wm. Bell, asking for the loan of a cross-cut saw.
- 55. Deposition of Spencer Patrick, taken before Wm. Bell, J.P., complaining that one, Wm. Dodds, an invalid, was suffering from neglect, dated 14th February, 1817.
  - 56. A receipt for one pound.
- 57. Letter from James Nickall, of Kingston, to Wm. Bell, of Thurlow, informing him, that upon an application being sent to him he will remit a license to two parties who had been married by Bell, dated 31st January, 1818.
- 58. A beautifully engrossed letter from Patrick Strong, of York, to Wm. Bell, dated 18th June, 1818. In this letter he explains, that Bell's children were not entitled to the U. E. privilege, and must pay the regular fee for certain lands they were endeavoring to obtain. After com-

menting severely upon some irregular legal proceedings in which he and Bell were interested, he concludes his letter as follows: "Times are amazing dull at Little York. No such thing as eash to be seen. We expect our Governor Mr. Gourley, from below, soon; he is doing all he can to put our Land Granting Gentry and big men through their facings, and all I can say for him is God speed the plough."

59. Letter from James McNabb to Wm. Bell, dated 10th October, 1818. In this letter the following appears: "Please inform Mr. Dan'l Brown that the Council has granted to him a town lot in the village of Belleville and that he should lose no time in making his choice of a lot and sending up the fees (about £8) and I will see to his

name being entered with ink on the map".

- 60. Warrant issued by Wm. Bell, J.P., for the arrest Phillip Zwick, charged with assaulting one Mary Stimers, dated 27th November, 1818. Upon the back of the warrant appears the following endorsement, "Phillip Swick, junior, proves that Mary Stimers on this affair was the first aggressor, and pelted him with stones at the time the within affray took place, and that it was after that he struck her with a whip, and having already taken the examination of Mary Stimers with all the evidence in allusion to this breach of the peace, would discharge him if the within named magistrate were not now personally attending a Court of Justice in sight. Therefore to him I refer the constable with the prisoner." 5th Decr. 1818. Sgd. J. McNabb, J.P.
- 61. Letter from S. McNabb to Wm. Bell, demanding payment of an account placed in his hands for collection, also asking for certain fees for conveyancing, dated 6th March, 1819. The demand for payment of this account begins as follows: "I really would be happy if you could make it convenient to discharge Mr. Grey's account for the Montreal Herald".

62. Oath of allegiance of Tobias Bleecker.

- 63. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, rebuking him for meddling as a magistrate, with Courts of Requests, or any other business but where the King was concerned, and advising him to settle a suit brought against him for illegally issuing a warrant, dated 27th January, 1820.
- 64. Oath of allegiance, signed by several militia officers, apparently from Ernesttown, among them are Joshua Booth, Sheldon Hawley and Isaac Fraser. No date.
- 65. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, stating that he would consider it a great honor to be named as a candidate for Hastings, dated 14th March, 1820.

66. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, concerning his inability to be present in person at the election.

67. Notice of meeting of the committee of the Midland District Agricultural Society at Bath sent to Wm. Bell, a member of the committee, dated 1st June, 1821.

68. Oath of allegiance of Joseph P. Huycke, taken be-

fore Wm. Bell, J.P., at Thurlow, on 16th July, 1821.

- 69. Notice by executor of the estate of John W. Meyers, asking for payment of accounts due the estate, dated 19th February, 1822.
- 70. Warrant issued by Coroner Wm. Bell, summoning a jury to enquire into the death of John W. Canniff, dated 4th May, 1822.
- 71. Oath of allegiance of Emerson Ruff, taken before Wm. Bell, J.P., 22nd August, 1822.
- 72. Letter from Richard Bell to his uncle, Wm. Bell, 23rd July, 1822.
- 72 (a). Letter from Richard Bell to his uncle, Wm. Bell, 14th July, 1823. He states that timber is selling in New Brunswick at twenty shillings sterling per ton.
- 73. Letter from Wm. Bell to Hugh C. Thompson, Kingston, dated 26th June, 1822. In this letter appears the following: "I am sorry to acquaint you that I seldom get your paper delivered at my house altho I have put up a box on a Plumb tree almost hanging over the Road in front of my House the old man that caries the mail has sometimes taken them to Belleville to Nelsons".
- 74. Letter from Jacob H. Bell, of Kingston, to Wm. Bell, Thurlow, dated 3rd December, 1813. In this appears the following: "We are not in quite so much dread of the Americans as we have been some time ago it is said that there is 5000 them between Cotte du Lac and Prescott on their way up but whether this is authentic I cannot say".

75. Notice to Col. Bell of the funeral of John Carmichael, dated 21st April, 1823.

75 (a). Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, dated 15th July, 1824. The following is an extract: "I am sorry to hear that you are so badly off for flour, and the more so, as I have it not in my power to relieve you, as there is very little flour here, and what is cannot be had for less than six dollars and a half, cash paid down, which last I have not, nor have I had five dollars in my possession these five weeks past".

75 (b). A love song of eight stanzas, composed by Stephen Ferguson Bell, in 1823. The first stanza reads:—

"My Julia my life my love To the to the I call I cannot live if thou remove For thou are all in all."

The other seven are just as bad.

- 76. Apology from Daniel Canniff to Wm. Bell for that he "did in an unguarded moment of passion insult and abuse William Bell."
  - 77. Muster roll of the Mohawk Tract.
- 78. Letter from the Council of Indian Chiefs of the Mohawk Tract to Wm. Bell, concerning some threatened litigation, and suggesting that he refuse to listen to the complaints of hot headed young men, and leave it to the Indians to settle their differences according to their own customs, dated 2rd April, 1828.
- 79. A certificate signed by sixteen Mohawk Chiefs to the effect that all Indians are privileged to cut timber anywhere upon the reserve outside the enclosed fields, dated 3rd April, 1828.
- 80. A summons issued by Chief Joseph Claus, calling a Council of the Chiefs to deal with a question of cutting timber upon the reserve, dated May 1st, 1828.
- 81. A summons, issued in the name of Alexander Fisher, one of the judges of the District Court by A. Hagerman, Plaintiff's attorney, against Wm. Bell, for twelve pounds ten shillings, dated 28th December, 1820.
- 82. Letter from the Mohawk Village to Col. Wm. Bell, in which the Chiefs present their thanks for his forbearance and kindness in referring a dispute among the Indians to the Chiefs to settle, dated 25th May, 1829.
- 83. Copy of directions for the guidance of the Court of Requests at Kingston, dated May, 1829.
- 84. Minutes of town meeting for the Township of Tyendinaga, held at the house of Richard Lazier, in Shannonville, in 1830.
- 84 (a). Minutes of town meeting for the Township of Tyendinaga, held at the house of Thomas D. Appleby, at Shannonville, in 1831.
- 85. Minutes of town meeting, held at the house of Thomas D. Appleby, on 2nd January, 1831. At this meeting the following prudential law was passed: "No hog to run at large till six months old, all hogs after six months old to be free commoners till they trespass, then the owner to pay said damage". All of the foregoing minutes are written on loose sheets of paper. This practice, if general, would partly account for the fact that it is very difficult to secure the minutes of the early town meetings of most townships.
- 86. Notice demanding payment of subscription to Genesee Farmer, dated July 11th, 1836.

# The Canniff Collection

(Case Number 16)

While Case Number 16 was intended to contain militia papers only, a close scrutiny of its contents discloses the fact that a number of miscellaneous letters and documents are among the number.

1. An order, dated June 27th, 1795, directing Wm. Bell as pathmaster, to "order all hands to work at the roads".

- 2. The following brief communication, dated 27th January, 1796, recalls familiar names: "Wm. Bell, I expect youll not fail to have wheat into Capt. W. Myers Mill very shortly for what you owe me and oblige Sir, Your obedt. serv't John Bleeker".
- 3. An order from John Ferguson, dated 29th November, 1796, directing that the inhabitants of the County of Hastings be summoned to meet for the purpose of enrollment.
- 4. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, dated 29th November, 1798, advising him of his appointment as adjutant and directing him to enroll the militia.
  - 5. Order for a pair of stills and pewter worms.
- 6. Letter from John Ferguson to Major Alexander Chisholm, dated Dec. 13th, 1798, giving directions as to the formation of a company.
  - 7. A similar letter to Captain Wm. Bell.
  - 8. Commission appointing Wm. Bell Captain.
  - 9. Commission appointing Wm. Bell Adjutant.
- 10. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell to meet him in Sydney to receive his commission.
- 10 (a). Order of John Ferguson, 25th February, 1799, for assembling the militia of Hastings.
- 11. Letter from John Ferguson to Captain Wm. Bell, dated 1st March, 1799, warning him to hold himself in readiness.
- 12. Notice of adjutant Wm. Bell, calling upon the militia of Hastings to assemble for parade "armed agreeable to the Act". They are cautioned to have "their crossbelts well cleaned".
- 13. Letter from John Ferguson, Lieutenant of the County of Hastings, to Capt. Wm. Bell, dated 10th March, 1799, forwarding copy of circular from the president, re-

questing that the men ordered to be selected for immediate service be instructed "in loading and firing and in the evolutions necessary for preserving the order of march and deploying before an enemy".

14. Circular letter, asking for a report on the state

of the Militia.

15. Informal letter from Ferguson to Bell, giving

directions about equipment, etc.

- 16. Directions from John Ferguson to Captain William Bell, commanding the detachment for immediate service from the battalion of militia of the County of Hastings "regarding the teaching the volunteers and drafts who are to assemble at Wallbridges every other Saturday the platoon exercise that is to say, to load and fire with expedition and orderly".
- 17f Letter, asking that a militiaman be excused from attending training.
  - 18. Order for assembling militia.
- 19. Notice of Captain William Bell, summoning militia to assemble.
- 20. Summons to officers of Hastings' militia to appear at the general sessions at Kingston, on April 23rd, 1799, to take the oath of allegiance.
- 21. Notice from Capt. Wm. Bell, calling upon defaulters to pay a fine for non-attendance at drill.
- 22. Notice of promotion of Capt. Wm. Bell to his majority.
- 23. Order for uniform as follows: "Red coats with blue facings, long yellow buttons and white lining with shoulder straps, the light infantry to have short coats with wings".
  - 24. Wm Bell's commission as Major.
- 25. Summons for a funeral meeting of the battalion of militia of Hastings.
  - 26. Memorandum concerning officers' uniforms.
  - 27. Order for enrollment 1800.
  - 28. Notice of promotions.
- 29. Order of John Ferguson, directing attention of officers to the manner in which they have been neglecting their duties.
- 30. Letter from John Ferguson, giving details of cost of officers' uniforms, and advising Wm. Bell "if any of these gentleman wish to have them from Montreal and will put into my hands sixteen bushels of wheat each, as a part payment I will send for them".
  - 31. Order for assembling militia.
- 32. Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell, congratulating him upon the improvement of his command and enquiring about some delinquents.

- 33. Letter to Major Wm. Bell, complaining about not having received returns.
- 34. Copy of reply with particulars about organizing a troop of horse.
  - 35. Appointment of Sergeant David Harris.
  - 36. Requisition for dates of certain commissions.
- 37. Letter from J. Ferguson, complimenting Major Wm. Bell on the work of his battalion and granting them exemption from certain training.
- 38. Order for battalion parade and exercise in firing, Ferguson to Bell, 1801.
  - 39. Letter from Ferguson to Bell.
- 40. Order of William Bell for companies to meet at the mouth of the river in Thurlow.
- 41. Letter shewing details of cost of uniform amounting to £4 s11 d2 each.
- 42. Order for assembling of the militia of Hastings, for the purpose of exercising and training, 1801.
  - 43. Letter for copies of orders.
- 44. Letter enquiring as to false report of a certain officer as to attendance of his company at training.
  - 45. Order of Major Bell for assembly of company
- 45 (a). Order of John Ferguson, Lieutenant of the County of Hastings, for the assembly of the militia of Hastings.
  - 46. Similar to number 45 (a).
- 47. Similar to number 45 (a), and asking for full report of conduct of men, condition of arms, etc.
- 48. Order cancelling order to assemble for training, owing to the lateness of the seeding.
- 49. Peremptory demand for returns which have been delayed, 1805. This communication from John Ferguson is addressed to Lieut. Colonel William Bell.
- 50. Reply from Lieut. Col. Bell, giving excuses for not forwarding returns.
- 51. Order for the assembly of the militia of Hastings at the usual place of rendezvous.
- 52. Letter from Lieut. John Ferguson, demanding that a certain captain be prosecuted for not making a proper return.
- 53. Order for battalion to parade, dated 4th June, 1808, signed by John Ferguson, Colonel of Hastings militia instead of Lieutenant of the County of Hastings as formerly.
- 54. Original commission by His Excellency Francis Gore, appointing William Bell Lieutenant Colonel in the first regiment of militia in the County of Hastings in the Midland District, dated January 2nd, 1809.
  - 55. Order of Colonel Wm. Bell.

56. Letter, transmitting order from His Honor the President Major General Brock, dated 6th of April, 1812.

- 57. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, advising him that "war is declared by the United States against Great Britain", and requesting him to hold his battalion ready for active service.
- 58. Permit for William Bell to return from Kingston to Hastings.
  - 59. Order regarding absentees sending substitutes.
- 60. Letter regarding passports and for certain men who had "been ballotted for active service" to repair to Kingston without loss of time.
- 61. Order for assembling of Hastings militia at the mouth of the River Moira.
- 62. Order for deserters to march to Kingston under escort, dated 1st August, 1812.
- 63. Order of Col. Ferguson, for muster of Hastings militia for active service, dated 10th Sept., 1812.
- 64. Order of Lt. Col. Bell, for battalion to assemble for active service, 12th September, 1812.
- 65. Order of Lt. Col. Bell, for certain men to proceed to Kingston immediately, dated 15th October, 1812.
- 66. Letter, offering to purchase Lt. Col. Bell's red coat.
- 67. Letter from Col. Ferguson to Col. Wm. Bell, requesting men on furlough to be sent to Kingston, dated 20th October, 1812. "The reason why these men are wanted is because there are a number of American prisoners, taken at the death of General Brock, expected down every hour and there is not men enough to guard them down".
  - 68. Order for arrest of deserters.
- 69. Order of Lt. Col. Wm. Bell, for assembling five companies at mouth of River Moira "each man to be provided with one blanket and three days provisions also arms and ammunition", dated 12th November, 1812.
  - 70. Letter from Bell to Ferguson, with returns.
  - 71. Order for arrest of deserters.
  - 72. Letter, concerning deserters.
  - 73. Pass granted by Richard Cartwright, O.C.
  - 74. Order for arrest of deserters.
- 74 (a). Peremptory order from Ferguson to Bell, to send down certain men for duty, dated 10th March, 1813.
- 75. Order for Sergeant James Liddle to report for duty.
- 76. Order for assembling of Hastings militia, dated 20th September, 1813.
- 77. Summons from James McNabb to Lieut. Col. Bell to answer to a complaint.

- 78. Order from Ferguson to Bell to send down seventy-five men with their officers.
- 79. Order for seventy-five men "to be ballotted unless their service is volunteered". The letter concludes with a "I need not tell you that an attack upon this place (Kingston) by the enemy is daily expected", 1st October, 1813.
- 80. Order of Wm. Bell, for the apprehension of deserters.
- 81. Order from Ferguson to Bell, forwarding request from His Honor the President for a return of all teams of oxen and horses in the County.
- 82. Request from James McNab, J.P., to Lieut. Col. Bell for five militia men to take down a bateau to the sixth township.
- 83. Letter advising that the Honorable Colonel Cartwright has obtained permission from the President to have the detachments from the County of Hastings relieved every two months.
- 84. Order for all men to return to duty and for the arrest af certain deserters.
- 85. Circular letter of Lieut. Col. Bell for return of men to duty.
- 86. Request for men to load a boat at Napanee Mills with provisions for the troops at Kingston.
- 87. Circular letter from Lt. Col. Bell, to the captains or officers commanding companies in the Hastings militia, dated 20th November, 1813.
  - 88. Letter from Bell to Ferguson.
  - 89. Order for arrest of deserter.
  - 90. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, for fifteen sleighs.
- 90 (a). Summons from Lt. Col. Wm. Bell to Capt. Jacob W. Meyers to appear at Margaret Simpson's house to answer for neglect of duty in not furnishing his quota of men agreeable to the general order.
- 91. Order from Ferguson to Bell, to send one subaltern, one sergeant, and ten rank and file to assist in the public works at Kingston, dated 26th January, 1814.
- 92. Resolution of officers of the militia of Hastings for devising means for securing better instruction in their military duties.
- 93. Appointment of Court of Enquiry to investigate complaints against certain officers, for neglect of duty in not furnishing their quota of men.
  - 94. Order of Col. Ferguson to assemble battalion.
- 95. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, complaining among other things about officers sending to Kingston men who are not fit for duty.
  - 96. Militia order from Col. Ferguson, for Hastings

battalion to assemble and to forward certain men to Kingston. Officers are warned not to send men unfit for duty.

96 (a). Letter from Ferguson to Bell, commenting upon the laxity of the dealings of officers with deserters.

- 97. Order for arrest of two officers to attend a general court martial to answer to the charge of disobedience of orders in not sending men for actual service at Kingston when required to do so.
  - 98. Order to forward men to Kingston.

98 (a). Letter from Ferguson, cautioning Bell to see

that order is strictly observed.

- 99. Copy of order of Lieut. Gen'l. Gordon Drummond, warning all magistrates to pay strict attention to orders for requisitioning men to be employed in towing the King's bateau and for other purposes.
  - 100. Order for arrest of a delinquent.
- 101. General order, announcing articles for a convention entered into for the mutual release of all prisoners of war except certain hostages, dated 24th April, 1814.
- 102. Copy of order forwarded to all magistrates and commanding officers to furnish such horses, wagons and men as may be required for the transportation of provisions, etc.
  - 103. Letter regarding the arrest of a captain.
  - 104. Requisition for "bateaumen".
- 105. Letter from Colonel Ferguson, announcing the pleasure of the Lieutenant Governor in directing the release of a certain Lieutenant from arrest.
- 106. Letter from Wm. Bell to Lieut. Zwick, to secure men to take charge of prisoners.
- 107. Letter from William Bell, announcing a report that "our people have taken Oswego".
  - 108. Letter from William Bell, for bateaumen.
- 109. Letter to Colonel Wm. Bell, enclosing copy of general order of Lt. General Drummond, asking that a quantity of provisions be sent to Burlington Heights.
- 110. Copies of letter, order and court martial proceedings from the Deputy Adjutant General.

Head quarters, Kingston April 15th, 1814.

## Militia General Order

At a general Court Martial assembled at Kingston by order of His Honor the President and Lieutenant General Commanding His Majestys Forces in Upper Canada on the 4th of the present month, and continued by adjournment to the 13th instant, was arraigned Lieutenant Colonel

Benoni Wiltsie of the 2 regiment of Leeds Militia on the following charges, viz:

- 1. For having in the month of November last, disregarded the Orders given him by Colonel Stone Commanding the 2d regiment of Leeds Militia, directing him to call out the men of that regiment at a time when the enemy appeared of the coast.
- 2. for permitting the Militia men, when called out on military service to leave their post without orders from the Commanding Officer to that effect, and contrary to his wishes.
- 3. for endeavoring to circulate disobedience and insubordination, by making use of language tending to disuade the militia of the above mentioned regiment from obeying the orders issued to them, when called upon to perform military duty.
- 4. for making use of language unbecoming an officer and a gentleman towards the commanding officer Colonel Stone.

Opinion and sentence. The Court after mature deliberation, found the prisoner guilty of the whole of the charges preferred against him, and therefore order and adjudge the said Lieut. Colonel Benoni Wiltsie to pay a fine of fifty pounds and to hold him unfit to serve His Majesty as an officer in any military capacity pursuant to the militia laws of this Province.

At the same General Court martial was arraigned Lieut. Samuel Kelsie, of the 2d regiment of Leeds Militia on the following charges, viz:

- 1. For unofficerlike conduct, in initiating a suit in civil law against His Commanding Officer Colonel Stone for pay due him for service performed as a militia officer.
- 2. For in an indecent and unbecoming manner, levying an execution on the property of His Commanding officer Colonel Stone, in discharge of a suit commenced for the recovery of pay due him for service as a militia officer.

Opinion and sentence. The Court after mature deliberation were of opinion that the prisoner Lieutenant Samuel Kelsie was guilty of both the charges preferred against him, and therefore sentence him to be cashiered.

At the same Court Martial was arraigned Private Charles Morgan of the 2d regiment of Leeds militia on the following charges, viz.—

- 1. For deserting to the enemy on or about the 31st October, 1812.
  - 2. For unsoldierlike conduct in initiating a suit at

civil law, against His Commanding Officer Colonel Stone, for services done by him as a militia man.

Opinion and Sentence. The Court after having maturely considered the circumstances of the case, were of opinion that the prisoner Charles Morgan, not having at the time taken the oath of allegiance, nor having been enrolled in any regiment or company of militia, or having been called upon for that purpose by any officer, does not come under the Militia Law of this Province, but being to all intents and purposes an alien, cannot be guilty of desertion, and therefore under those circumstances of the case, do aquit the said prisoner of both the charges preferred against him.

At the same General Court Martial was arraigned Captain Jacob Weldon Meyers of the 1st regiment Hastings Militia on the following charges, viz.—

For disobedience of orders in not furnishing two men from his company for actual service at Kingston when required so to do by his commanding officer.

Opinion and sentence. The Court after maturely considering the circumstances of the case, were of opinion that Captain Jacob W. Meyers was guilty of the charge preferred against him, and therefore sentence him to pay a fine of three pounds currency, and to pay the costs attending the prosecution.

At the same general Court martial was arraigned Captain Samuel Budsiye Gilbert of the 1st regiment of Hastings Militia on the following charge, viz,—

For disobedience of orders in not furnishing two men from his company for actual service at Kingston when required so to do by His Commanding Officer.

Opinion and sentence. The court after mature deliberation were of opinion, that Captain Samuel B. Gilbert was guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and therefore sentence him to pay a fine of five pounds currency, and to pay the costs attending the prosecution of the said charges.

His Honor the President approves of the foregoing sentences, and directs that the general fine therein adjudged be forthwith paid to the Commanding Officers of the 2d regt., Leeds and 1 regt. of Hastings Militia respectively who will report their receipt of the same to the Adjutant General of Militia for His Honors further pleasure thereon.

By Command of His Honor

'signed) C. Forster Lieut, Col, Adjutant General of Militia Upper Canada

(signed) Nathn Coffin, Lieut. Col. Dy. Adjt. Gen. of Militia Upper Canada

Copy

In answer to the letter prefering a charge of disobedience of order against Lieut. John Reed of the 1 regiment of Hastings Militia, in not attending the above General Court Martial as an evidence, when ordered so to do by His Commanding Officer Lieutenant Colonel Bell, His Honor the President has been pleased to direct, that Lieut. John Reed will be tried at a suitable opportunity but is to continue his duty until then.

Signed Nath. Coffin, Lieut. Col.
Dy. Adj. Gen. Militia
Upper Canada

Colonel Ferguson
Commanding 1 reg.
Hastings Militia.

- 111. Letter from the Deputy Adjutant General to Colonel Wm. Bell, expressing the Lieut. Governor's concern at not having a situation to which he could appoint him.
- 112. Copy of Capt. Chisholm's report concerning prisoners in his division.
  - 113. Explanation of a man charged with deserting.
  - 114. Letter to Colonel Bell for men for the bateaux.
  - 115. Order of Colonel Bell for men to man the bateaux.
- 116. Letter from Bell to Ferguson, about men for bateaux service.
- 117. Letter from the Deputy Adjt., General, threatening to report Colonel Bell unless crews be provided immediately for the bateaux loaded with flour for the troops in Kingston.
  - 118. Order to forward men for duty in Kingston.
  - 119. Letter to Wm. Bell for a bateaux crew.
- 120. Letter from Colonel Bell to Adjt. Thompson, forwarding copy of militia general order.
  - 120 (a). Requisition for men for bateaux.
  - 121. Letter from Colonel Bell to Lieut. Zwick.
  - 121 (a). Letter to Bell, for more men for the boats.
- 122. Order for forwarding delinquents under guard to Kingston.
- 123. Memorandum re endorsement to be made on orders.
- 124. Militia order concerning appointment and duties of an orderly for Colonel Bell.
- 125. Warrant for arrest of Benjamin Gerow, for using seditious expressions.
- 126. Certificate of Col. Richard Cartwright, exempting Reuben White from other militia service.
  - 127. Letter from Col. Ferguson about white belts.
- 128. Order offering rewards for the capture of certain deserters.

129. Order of Colonel Ferguson, for annual meeting of militia.

130. General order of court martial proceedings as follows:—

Head Quarters, Falls of Niagara Oct. 28, 1814. Militia General Orders

At a General Court Martial held at Stamford on the 25th instant and continued by adjournment to the 27th of the same month, Private John McMillan of the 2d regiment of Lincoln Militia was arraigned on the following charges, viz.—

1st. For having deserted to the enemy with his arms and accoutrements when on duty, on or about the 6th of October, 1813.

2d. For having been taken, bearing arms in the service of the enemy on or about the 17th of September last.

And the Court after duly considering the evidence for the prosecution, and on behalf of the prisoner, were clearly of opinion that he is guilty of both charges; and therefore sentence him to suffer death at some place and time as His Honor, the President, may be pleased to direct.

His Honor the President, approves the finding and sentence of the court and directs that the same be carried into execution at Bridgewater on Monday morning next the 31st instant at 11 o'clock.

The Geñeral Court Martial of which Lieut. Colonel Dickson is president is dissolved.

By Command of His Honor the President C. Forster Adjutant General of Militia Upper Canada.

Head Quarters Falls of Niagara November <u>1</u>, 1814 Militia General Orders

At a general court martial held at Cornwall on Saturday the 3 September last John Johnson of the 1st regiment Stormont Militia was arraigned on the following charge, via. for having deserted to the enemy near Cornwall on or about the 10th day of November, 1813.

The Court having weighed the matter and upon due deliberation are of opinion that the prisoner John Johnson is not guilty of the charge preferred against him, viz. for having deserted with his arms to the enemy on the 10th November, 1813, but find him guilty of having deserted from his company when before the enemy and having delivered his arms to them unnecessarily; and do therefore sentence him to be transported beyond Seas for Life at

what time and to what place, His Honor the President or person administering the Government of the Province may be pleased to direct. His Honor the President approves the finding and sentence of the court and directs that the prisoner John Johnson be detained in confinement until an opportunity offers of carrying the sentence into effect. The Court martial of which Lieutenant Colonel MacLean of the 1st regiment of Stormont Militia is president is dissolved.

By command of His Honor the President C. Forster Adjutant General of Militia Upper Canada.

Lieutenant Colonel William Bell of the 1st regiment of the Hastings Militia is hereby required to promulgate to the regiment under his command these two proceedings and sentences of General Court Martial in the most convenient and public manner possible.

> Kingston 1st December, 1814. John Ferguson Col. Commanding 1 regiment Hastings Militia

131. Complaint of a sergeant major that too many are presuming to interfere with him when on duty.

132. Circular from Colonel Bell forwarding copy of circular from the Dep. Adjt. Gen'l giving information about certain prisoners who escaped from their guard at Hallowell (Pieton).

133. Militia order for court martial to assemble.
Militia Orders

County of Hastings

5th Novr. 1814

A Militia Regiment Court martial to assemble at the mouth of the river Moira at the home of Margaret Simpson, on Saturday the 19th day of Novr. instant at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon, for the tryal of all such delinquents as may be brought before them.

Capt. Alex. Chisholm, President Lieut. Wm. Ketchison ) Lieutenant Alec. Gilbert ) Members and Ensign Olipt. Petrie )

All officers are hereby required to bring such delinquents forward for tryal, before the said court martial as may belong to their respective companies.

William Bell, Lt. Col.
1st Regt. Hastings Militia

Capt. and Adjutant Thompson will communicate his order to the officers commanding company, and also direct that all officers belonging to the battalion of the County of Hastings attend on the same day, and at the same time and place.

Wm. Bell. Lt. Col.

134. Proceedings of a regimental court martial.

Thurlow 19th November, 1814

FIRST

Proceedings of a Regimental Court Martial, held here this day by order of Lieutenant Colonel Bell, for the trial of such persons as may be brought before it belonging to the first Regiment of Hastings Militia,—

Captain Alexander Chisholm, President
William Ketchison )
Archibald Chisholm ) Members
Ensign Alex. Oliphant Petrie)

The Court being duly sworn proceeded to the trial of Lewis Rosebush for disobedience of orders, having on the thirty-first day of July, last been duly warned to proceed to Kingston to discharge his duty as a private Militia man. Sergeant Spencer Patrick being duly sworn, says, he warned Lewis Rosebush in obedience to the orders he had received from Captain Gilbert Harriss to hold himself in readiness to go to Kingston to do duty as a militia man, that on the day of he received orders from Captain Harriss, to make Lewis Rosebush prisoner, and take him before Colonel Bell, that on the approach of Sergeant Patrick, the said Rosebush went to a barn, armed with a stick or cane in which there was a sword and said he would not suffer himself to be taken.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Samuel P. Cummings for not attending Captain Harriss's company training on the twenty-fourth day of September last. Captain Harriss being duly sworn, says that Samuel P. Cummings did not appear at the company training on the twenty-fourth day of September last.

Samuel P. Cummings being put on his defence says he understood Captain Harriss was not at home on the twenty-fourth day of September last, and further, that he had business at the river Moira, which he must have at all events attended to.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Iedediah Cummings, for neglect of duty on the twenty-fourth days of June and July last, Captain Harriss being duly sworn says that the said Iedediah Cummings was absent from

both the company trainings on the days above mentioned.

Samuel P. Cummings being duly sworn, says that Iedediah Cummings was absent from his home on the twenty-fourth days of June and July last, and believes he was at work in the district of Newcastle, does not know what was the cause of Iedediah Cummings leaving home.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Henry Mc-Mullen, for neglecting to attend company trainings on the twenty-fourth days of June and July last.

Captain Harriss being duly sworn, says that Henry McMullen was not present at the company trainings on the twenty-fourth days of June and July last and has reason to think the said Henry McMullen absented himself to avoid doing his duty as a militia man.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Stephen McMullen, for neglecting to attend company trainings on the twenty-fourth days of June and July last.

Captain Harriss being duly sworn says that Stephen McMullen was not present at the company trainings on the twenty-fourth days of June and July last, and has reason to think the said Stephen McMullen absented himself to avoid doing his duty as a militia man.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Leman Barnum for neglecting to attend company training on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Lieut. Phillip Zwick being duly sworn, says that Leman Barnum was not present at the company trainings on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Leman Barnum being put on his defence, says that on the twenty-fourth day of October last he was at work at the Napanee river, drawing timber, which he believes was intended for the use of Government, that he only arrived at home on his return from the Napanee river on the thirteenth day of November instant.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Thomas Badgely for neglecting to attend the company training on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Lieutenant Phillip Zwick being duly sworn, says, that Thomas Badgely was not present at the company training on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Thomas Badgely being put on his defence, says that on the twenty-fourth day of October last, he was at work in the township of taking care of a quantity of wheat belonging to himself, and could not possibly leave it without it being injured.

The Court having heard the evidence against Lewis Rosebush is of opinion that he is guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and do sentence him to pay a fine of twenty pounds currency, in default of payment to be committed to gaol for the span of six calendar months.

The Court having heard the evidence for and against Samuel P. Cummings, do sentence him to pay a fine of one pound currency together with all reasonable expenses.

The Court having heard the evidence, for and against Iedediah Cummings, do sentence him to pay a fine of one pound currency together with all reasonable expenses.

The Court having heard the evidence against Henry McMullen, sentence him to pay a fine of two pounds currency, together with all reasonable expenses and in default of payment to be committed to some safe place of confinement for the span of twelve days.

The Court having heard the evidence against Stephen McMullen sentence him to pay a fine of two pounds currency, together with all reasonable expenses, and in default of payment to be committed to some safe place of confinement for the span of twelve days.

The Court having heard the evidence for and against Leman Barnum is of opinion that he acted thro ignorance and do acquit him.

The Court having heard the evidence for and against Thomas Badgeley sentence him to pay a fine of ten shillings currency together with all reasonable expenses.

The Court was then adjourned until the 3rd December ensuing.

Thurlow, 3rd December, 1814

The Court reassembled here this day pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded to the trial of Solomon Reid for appearing on parade without fire arms on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Captain John McMichael being duly sworn says, that Solomon Reed appeared on parade without fire arms on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Solomon Reed being put on his delence says he cannot possibly procure fire arms without actually distressing his family.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of David Seley for appearing on parade without fire arms on the twentyfourth day of October last.

Captain McMichael being duly sworn says, that David Seley appeared on parade without fire arms on the twentyfourth day of October last.

David Seley being put on his defence says, he cannot possibly procure fire arms without actually distressing his family.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of James Badgley for appearing on parade without fire arms on the twenty-fourth day of October last, Captain McMichael being duly sworn says, that James Badgely appeared on parade without fire arms on the twenty-fourth day of October last, and believes could fire arms be obtained Badgely would purchase a stand.

James Badgely being put on his defense says, he has not an opportunity of procuring arms, there being none to be obtained.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Joseph Parks, for being absent from the company training on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Captain McMichael being duly sworn says, that Joseph Parks did not appear at the company training on the twenty-fourth day of October last, and that he does not make a practice of attending any company training whatever.

Joseph Parks being put on his defence says, that he was considered unfit for militia duty when in Kingston in the month of March, 1813, and that Captain Jacob Myers, sometime in the month of November following, told him, he should not attend any company training whatever.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Luke Potter, for not attending company training on the twentyfourth day of October last.

Lieutenant William Ketchison being duly sworn says, that Luke Potter was absent from company training on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Luke Potter being put on his defence, produced a certificate signed by N. Coffin, Deputy Adjutant Gen'l of Militia, dated 26 June 1814, stating that Luke Potter is reported by a medical board as unfit for militia duty.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Isaac Whiteman, for being absent from company training on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Lieutenant Ketchison being duly sworn says, that Isaac Whiteman was absent from company training on the twenty-fourth day of October last.

Isaac Whiteman being put on his defence, says, that he is incapable of doing militia duty owing to his left arm being lame.

The Court further proceeded to the trial of Francis Pimble, for being absent from the general training on the fifth day of October last.

Lieutenant Ketchison being duly sworn, says, that Francis Pimble was absent from the general training on the fifth day of October last.

The Court having heard the evidence for and against Solomon Reid is of opinion that what he states is truth, he having a certificate from Captain McMichael to that effect and do acquit him. The Court having heard the evidence for and against David Seley, is of opinion that what he states is truth, he having a certificate from Captain McMichael to that effect, and do acquit him.

The Court having heard the evidence for and against James Badgely, and owing to the scarcity of fire arms do

acquit him.

The Court having heard the evidence for and against Joseph Parks, sentence him to pay a fine of twenty shillings currency, with all reasonable expenses, and in default of payment, to be confined fifteen days unless the fine and expenses be sooner paid.

The Court having heard the evidence for and against Luke Potter, is of opinion that the certificate he produced is not meant to exclude him from attending company trainings, and do sentence him to pay a fine of twenty shillings, with all reasonable expenses, and in default of payment, to be confined fifteen days unless the fine and expenses be sooner paid.

The Court having heard the evidence for and against Isaac Whiteman, is of opinion that what he states is truth, and do acquit him.

The Court having heard the evidence against Francis Pimble, is of opinion and do sentence him to pay a fine of forty shillings currency, with all reasonable expenses, and in default of payment to be confied one calendar month unless the fine and expenses be sooner paid.

The foregoing proceedings are submitted to Lieutenant Colonel Bell for his approval and further directions thereon.

135. Letter from Bell to Ferguson enclosing rolls and returns with explanations.

136. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, asking for particulars about conveying a load of goods to York.

137. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, advising him that to avoid impressment as much as possible the Lieut. Governor has instructed him to offer to pay thirty shillings per hundred weight for conveying Indian presents from Kingston to York.

138. Order of Col. Wm. Bell, for meeting of officers at the house of Margaret Simpson, to receive orders, dated 16th December, 1814.

139. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, demanding immediate reply about furnishing fifteen teams to convey Indian goods to York at thirty shillings per hundred weight.

141. Letter from Lieut. Col. Bell to Wm. Meyers.

142. Letter from A. O. Petrie, forwarding court martial proceedings for the approval of Lieut, Col. Bell.

143 and 143 (a). Letters forwarding lists of men who

had engaged to go to Kingston to transport Indian stores from that place to York.

144. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, about storing and forwarding Indian goods. The letter concludes with "several gentlemen from York give a very good account of the roads".

145. Receipt for linen and ammunition.

146. Blank forms reading as follows :-

## COMMISSARIAT TRANSPORT.

I certify that are employed with their sleighs and horses, under my orders in transporting stores, provisions, and forage, on the communication between and and that they are not liable to be impressed into any other service.

To all military and civil officers

147. Letter to provide transport to York for Captain Livingstone.

148. Order explaining method to be strictly adhered to in transporting goods.

149. Order, forbidding any officer of the battalion of militia of Hastings to leave the country without notifying the officer commanding the battalion.

150. Letter from Francis Vandervoort, stating that he had lamed his horse the last time he took a load of goods to York, and therefore begs to be excused this time as his horse is still lame.

151. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, urging haste in forwarding goods to York, dated 11th February, 1815.

151 (a). Letter urging expedition in carrying on the transport, dated 19th February, 1815.

152. Certificate of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell to the effect that Benjamin Ketcheson reports that he had spent two and one half days in a fruitless effort to secure sleighs for transporting Indian presents from Thurlow to York. Attached to, and based upon the foregoing report, is the warrant of Solomon Hazelton, J.P., authorizing Ensign Bryan Ketcheson to impress ten sleighs and horses for the above purpose.

152 (a). Letter from Ferguson to Bell, urging further exertion in transporting goods to York.

153. Order to Solomon Hazelton, J.P., to give the necessary impress warrants for thirty sleighs for transporting His Majesty's stores, etc., from Thurlow to York.

154. Account of Indian goods on 7th March, 1815, remaining in store in the barn of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, at Thurlow, and forwarded on the 10th, 11th and 20th of the same month to the store of Capt. McIntosh, at the mouth

of the Moira River. This document is published in Dr. Canniff's history at page 671.

155. Letter re militia law.

156. Letter delivered by a man prepared to take a load of goods to York. In this letter Ferguson expresses the hope that Bell's difficulties will soon cease as he had exhibited several charges against Clark, among them was one for impeding and obstructing His Majesty's service in the transport of Indian stores from Kingston and Thurlow to York.

157. Letter from Lieut. Col. Bell to Sergeant James Yeomans, reproving him for not looking more sharply after the stands of arms for which he was responsible.

158. Order of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, to provide escort for two prisoners.

- 159. Militia General's order announcing promotions.
- 160. Order for arrest.
- 161. Militia order reading as follows:-

Upper Canada	)		
Midland District	)	Militia	Orders
County of Hastings	)		

It having been reported to me that Lieutenant John Reid has behaved unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, in passing counterfeit money, knowing it to be so, he is hereby suspended from doing duty as an officer of militia in the 1st regiment of the County of Hastings until the pleasure of His Honor the president is known on the subject and all other officers of the same battalion are desired to take notice of the order, and to refrain from being in company with the said Lieutenant Reid, as any officer af the said battalion, who may be known to keep company, or correspondence, with the said Lieutenant Reid, untill he has cleaned up his character, will be treated in like manner, and presecuted as the law directs.

Kingston, 18 April 1815 John Ferguson Colonel Commanding 1st regiment Hastings Militia

162. Letter from Richard Cartwright to Col. Ferguson:—

Kingston, 18th April, 1815

Sir,-

In answer to your note of yesterday I have to observe, that the I have doubt whether the persons in question can now be punished as deserters from the militia yet I am very clear that they are liable to be tried for treason, or treasonable practice as adhering to the King's enemies, and ought immediately to be committed under that charge,

by any magistrate before whom a complaint of that kind can be made an oath.

I am,

Col. Ferguson

Sgd. Richard Cartwright

163. Deposition of Reuben Potter,-

The examination of Reuben Potter of the County of Hastings a militia man, heretofore enrolled in Captain Leonard Meyers company of the 1st regiment of the Hastings militia.

Reuben Potter says he left this province about the last day of July, or first day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twelve, and that he returned to this province from the United States since the termination of the war.

Reuben Potter

Taken the 25th day of April )
1815 before me . )
John Ferguson, Col. )
Comm. 1st reg. H.M. )

164. Deposition of Richard Davis.

164 (a). Order for Reuben Potter and Richard Davis, to return to Hastings.

165. Letter to Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, advising him of the arrest of Reuben Potter by Capt. McIntosh.

166. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, concerning proceedings to be taken against Potter and Davis for desertion, also enquiring about goods left in storage on the way to York.

167. Order from Col. Ferguson, concerning court martial, and the collecting, repairing, and cleaning, of arms and accourtements.

168. Letter from Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell to Sergeant James Yeomans, transmitting order of Col. Ferguson to collect arms and accountrements.

The following appear in the handwriting of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell:—  $\,$ 

169.

#### Crime 1st

John Henesy Private in Capt. Chisholm Company of the Hastings Militia confined by Lt. Colonel William Bell for refusing, when he was required by Capt. McIntosh to say God Bless the King, said he could not saud that word as he had not received any more than six pence a day from the King he could not say God Bless that man, that had given him no more than six pence a day, and other disrespectful words to Lieutenant Colonel Bell when in the execution of his duty.

William Bell, Lt. Col. 1st regt. Thurlow, 10th Apl. 1815, Hastings Militia Commanding

### Crime 2nd.

Theophelus Nelson inkeeper, and private militia man in Capt. Simon McNabbs company of the Hastings militia confined by order of Lt. Colonel Wm. Bell of the battalion of militia of the County of Hastings, for neglecting his duty in permitting Jonathan Selden a prisoner, given into his charge, as a militia man willfully to escape; who had deserted to the enemy from his duty at Kingston, when he was there on duty in the embodied militia, on or about the day of July, 1812, and was apprehended at Meyers Creek on the 8th day of April, 1815, by Capt. John McIntosh.

Wm. Bell Lieutenant Colonel 1st regiment Hastings Militia Commanding.

170. Proceedings of a militia regimental court martial held at Thurlow on 11th day of April, 1815, by order of Lieut. Colonel Wm. Bell.

Capt. Alexr. Chisholm, President
Lieut. Philip Zwick )
Ensign Wm. Zwick )
Ensign Hugh Cunningham ) Members
Ensign Peter Holmes )

The court proceeds to the tryal of Theopilus Nelson, for neglect of duty and dissobedience of orders.

The evidence of Capt. John McIntosh after being duly sworn, saith, on the morning of the 9th April 1815 Jonathan Seldon was brought to me before I was out of bed. I then directed the men that had the prisoner in custody to Mrs. Simp. to get their breakfast. Mr. Nelson was willing to take charge of the prisoner, and likewise took charge of the prisoner, and then asked, where he must deliver the prisoner in the morning. I told him not to fetch him to me, I would go up to his house in the morning, and accordingly went up on the morning of the 10th inst. I met Mr. Nelson on the plains, near to his own house, and asked him where was Seldon. Mr. Nelson said, he was gone down with Wm. Maybee to see Colonel Bell. I asked Mr. Nelson how he could take it upon him to countermand my orders, whether you consider me as a sipher. I believe that Mr. Nelson knowingly, and willingly, let the prisoner go.

The evidence of Lieut. John Taylor of the Durham

militia saith on his oath, he saw Mr. Nelson in front of his house, and asked him if Jonathan Seldon was yet there, he told me he was not, he was gone to Colonel Bells with Wm. Maybee, and said I saw Wm. Maybee going from Mr. Nelsons house and Jonathan Seldon was not with him, the above was on the 9th in the afternoon.

The prisoner Theopelus Nelson saith in his defence, I deny the charge of willfully letting the prisoner Jonathan Seldon go, with the intention of making his escape. Wm. Maybee requested that the prisoner might go with him, and he would be accountable for his return in the morning of the 10th inst. The evidence of Capt. John W. Meyers in behalf of the prisoner, he saith on his oath that, the prisoner was in Mr. Nelsons charge after being in Mr. Nelsons house. Wm. Maybee requested Mr. Nelson to let the prisoner go to Colonel Bells, and he would come back with him on the 9th inst., then Maybee, and the prisoner went out of the house, as I thought to go to Colonel Bells, after being gone a short space of time, the prisoner returned, and said to Mr. Nelson that it was Mr. Maybee's request that the prisoner might go with him to his own house, and stay there that night, and they would return in the morning, and I saw no private conversation between Mr. Nelson and the prisoner, nor no person else.

Capt. McIntosh Saith, that he considered himself as doing his duty as a capt. of militia on actual service, and also considered Mr. Nelson on actual service.

After hearing the evidence, the court is of opinion that Theopelus Nelson is guilty of the crime laid to his charge, therefore sentence him to pay a fine of ten pounds cost, and charges £5.7.6 and in default of payment, that the prisoner Theo. Nelson shall be committed to some place of confinement for the space of 4 months, or untill the fine and expenses is paid. I approve of the above sentence, and order the same to be immediately carried into execution.

Wm. Bell, Lt. Col. 1st regiment Hastings Militia Commanding.

The Court proceed to the tryal of the prisoner John Henesev.

The evidence of Capt. John McIntosh saith on his oath that on the 10th day of April, 1815 I asked John Henesey when he was going to take a glass of grog, I asked him to say God bless the King. John Henesey said he could not say that. I then said cannot you sayd God bless the King. He said no, his pay was so small that he couldn't, then say God bless a man that did not give him more than six pence a day. Colonel Chambers

then asked him if he could say God dam him, he said no, he could not say that neither.

Ensign Hugh Cunningham after being duly sworn, coroborats the above.

After hearing the evidence the court is of opinion that the said John Henesey is guilty of the crime laid to his charge therefore sentence him to pay a fine of one pound, and costs of court 17.6.

Alexander Chisholm Capt. president.

I approve of the above sentence and order the same to be immediately carried into execution.

Wm. Bell, Lt. Col.
1st regiment Hasting militia Commadg.

171.

County of Hastings ) A Militia regimental court martial Militia orders ) to assemble on the 11th instant.

The house of Margaret Simpson, near the mouth of the River Moira, at the hour of 9 o'clock in the forenoon, to try all such prisoners that may be brought before them.

Capt. Alex. Chisholm, Lieut. Philip Zwick Ensign H. Cunningham Ensign Peter Holmes and Ensign Wm. Zwick

All officers are hereby required to bring forward all delinquents that may belong to their respective companies for tryal before said court martial.

Willm Bell, Lieut. Colonel
1st regiment Hastings militia
Thurlow, 10th April, 1815

172.

Thurlow, 10th Apl. 1815

Sergt. Ozekul Lawrence

Sir,—You are hereby required and strictly commanded to apprehend the body of John Henesy private of Capt. Chisholms company of the Hastings militia and bring him here to the house of Margaret Simpson at the hour of nine o'clock in the forenoon of the eleventh inst., to answer to the complaint of Lt. Colonel Wm. Bell and herein fail you not.

Given under my hand the day and year above written

Alexander Chisholm Capt.

173. Order of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, for the issuing of rations for prisoners.

174.

Thurlow, 12th Apl. 1815

James McNabb, Esquire,

Sir,—Theopelus Nelson, a private man in Captain Simon McNabbs company of the Hastings militia, having been tried by a militia regimental court martial, by my orders, and sentenced by the said court martial to pay a fine of ten pounds currency, and five pounds seven shillings and six pence cost and charges, which sum, the said Theopelus Nelson refuses to pay, this therefore is to require you to issue a warrant of distress, to levie the above amount by distress, and sale of the goods, and chattels, of the aforesaid Theopelus Nelson, agreable to the 15th clause of the militia act, passed in the 54th of the King, and in the year of our Lord 1814.

I am sir your most obedt. humble servant William Bell,

Lt. Col. 1st regt., Hastings Militia Commanding.

174 (a). Order, suspending a Lieutenant for passing counterfeit money.

175. Letter from Bell to Ferguson, endeavoring to clear up the troublesome matter of the Indian goods, that appear to have been ''left on the way to York'', and also excusing himself for the delay in collecting the arms and accourrements.

176. The evidence of Capt. John McIntosh taken upon the trial of John Henesy.

177. Certificate of payment of a reward of six pounds, and one shilling, for bringing in a deserter.

178. Letter requesting signature to a return.

179. Letter for information concerning certain correspondence, about forwarding returns of men who had sleighs and horses fit for service.

180. Memorandum of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, explaining the circumstances under which he apprehended John Rice. On the back of this are endorsed a number of miscellaneous memoranda, varying from a reminder that he needed one pound of pepper, to an acknowledgement of having received pay for apprehending John Rice, and also his son's pay for acting as his orderly.

181. Subpoena for Bell to appear as a witness upon the trial of John Rice.

182. Notice as to the time and place of the fall training for 1815.

183. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, announcing that the quarter master is being sent up to collect the arms, accourtements, drums and fifes. Elijah Ketcheson is recommended as a proper person to be appointed sergeant.

184. Letter from Bell to Ferguson, enquiring about the appointment of a training day and asking when he is to get pay for the storage and forwarding of the Indian goods.

185. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, in which the writer refers to "the change of the seat of Government to this

place", dated June 10th, 1816.

186. Letter from Bell to Ferguson, pleading his inability to raise a dollar to transmit to the Receiver General as ordered.

187. Commission to William Bell as Coroner, dated 25th July, 1816.

188. Bail bond taken before Wm. Bell, J.P.

188 (a). Subpoena for witness to appear before Court of King's Bench at Kingston.

189. Summons to appear before the Court of Requests at the house of Margaret Simpson.

190. Letter from Bell to his lawyer, Christopher Hagerman, advising him of the settlement of an action.

191. Copy of letter from Bell to Ferguson, enclosing rolls and returns of complaints.

192. Proceedings before Coroner Wm, Bell upon an inquest.

192 (a). Letter from Ferguson to Bell, threatening to report him to the Lieut. Governor for neglect of duty.

193. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, concerning a parade to be held at Belleville.

194. Militia order of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, for the assembling of the Hastings Militia on "the plains in Belleville on Saturday, the 30th day of October, 1819".

195. Letter from the Adjt. Gen'l to Lt. Col. Bell asking for returns.

195 (a). Letter from Ferguson to Bell, acknowledging receipt of returns, and complaining, that the postage was not prepaid, and that he had to pay five shillings and eight pence.

196. Copy of order in council for giving location tickets to members of the militia who served in the war.

197. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, warning him to order a fall meeting of the militia of the County of Hastings.

198. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, dated 30th May, 1821, pointing out that the militia must according to statute assemble on the 4th of June.

· 198 (a). Order of Lt. Col. Wm. Bell, calling upon Hastings militia to assemble on June 4th.

198 (b). Letter from Ferguson to Bell, regarding rolls, returns and conduct of certain officers.

199. Certificate of marriage solemnized by William Bell as a justice of the peace, under the provisions of a statute authorizing him to do so in case there was no Church of England minister residing within eighteen miles of either of the contracting parties.

200. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, about filling vacancies in Hastings and asking for complete returns as

to the assembly of June 4th.

201. Letter from Bell to Ferguson, enclosing returns and explaining absence of certain members.

202. Copy of Act in pamphlet form, respecting part of militia laws dated 17th January, 1822.

203. Notice of appointment of sergeants from Ferguson to Bell.

204. Certificate of returns of delinquents having been made.

205. Summons issued by Wm. Bell, J.P., dated 9th April, 1822, calling upon certain parties to appear before the Court of Requests.

206. Order of Col. Ferguson, 21st October, 1822, for the selection of Flank Companies for the 1st regiment of the Hastings militia and outlining the procedure to be adopted.

206 (a). Letter from Ferguson to Bell, with additional particulars about the Flank Companies.

207. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, 23rd January, 1823, requesting him to take charge of a box of arms at Grant's store.

208. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, regretting the falling off in the membership of the regiment and suggesting means of adding to their numbers.

209. Order from Col. Ferguson to Lieut. Col. Bell, to

call out the Hastings militia for fall training.

210. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, complaining of the failure of a certain officer to do his duty, and demanding prompt action or a resignation.

211. Letter from Bell to Ferguson, dated April 26th; 1813, enclosing incomplete returns, with an explanation that bad roads and bad weather rendered it impossible to secure a full attendance of officers at the last assembly. In this letter, he intimates his intention of resigning.

212. Letter from Ferguson to Bell.

213. Certificate of out-pensioner John Joyce, contain-

ing instructions for the guidance of out-pensioners.

214. Letter from Bell to Ferguson, dated 24th April, 1824, with incomplete returns and explanations. In this letter appear the following pathetic remarks, "I was not on the parrade myself as I was not able to stand out so long, being in such great distress with Rumatic pains in

my back, and both shoulders, on which account and for no other Reason, I wish to Resign as I am not able to do the duty of my situation in the militia, as it ought to be done, which I believe to have proceded from the effects of the hard services of the Revolutionary war on and about Lake Champlain, for about 8 or 9 years with Lieutenant James Davice of the 31st regt. of Foot to which regiment you know I formerly did belong. I am now in the 64 year of my age and it need not be wondered at if I begin to be infirm from the Hardships I have seen in the Revolutionary war in the Services which was alotted to me to Perform mostly in the winter Season".

215. Order for a court of enquiry to enquire into the cause why Major Chisholm neglected to muster the inhabitants as ordered and why the officers and captains neglected to furnish rolls and returns.

216. Letter from Adjt. Gen'l to Colonel Ferguson, forwarding forms of returns to be used.

217. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, forwarding forms of returns.

217 (a). Letter from Ferguson to Bell, instructing him to bring a certain officer before a magistrate for not forwarding roll and returns.

217 (b). Letter from Bell to Ferguson, forwarding returns.

218. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, acknowledging certain returns, but asking for further returns.

219. Proceedings of Court of Enquiry into conduct of officers for not making returns. The officers are excused upon the ground that they did not understand the instructions.

219 (a). Proceedings of Court of Enquiry into the conduct of Major Chisholm for neglect of duty. The Major is excused owing to bad roads and his indisposition.

219 (b). Letter from Bell to Ferguson, enclosing resignation of Capt. Petrie, who assigns no reason for so doing.

220. Order of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, requiring officers to meet at the house of John Taylor in Thurlow Township on Friday, the 19th day of August, 1825, to receive orders.

220 (a). Order of Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, for a meeting of the officers of 1st regiment of the Hastings Militia.

221. Letter from Capt. Robt. D. Liddell to Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, forwarding names of persons wishing to have their names taken off the roll of the company of Light Horse.

222. Letter from John W. Ferguson to Lieut. Col. Wm. Bell, resignation of Col. John Ferguson, and certain recommendations made by him and concluding with "The

Col. is much better than when you saw him, but without any use of his left side".

223. Letter from Adjutant General to Colonel Bell, requesting the names of thirty-five candidates for the

troop of cavalry.

223 (a). Letter from Adjutant General to Col. Bell, stating that the Lieut. Governor declines to accept the resignation of Capt. Petrie, who assigned no reason for resigning, also instructing the Colonel to take proceedings against him if he declines to serve.

224. Militia General Order from the office of the Adjutant General, advising of the promotion of Lieut. Col. Bell to be Colonel vice Ferguson who resigns; and of Major Alex. Chisholm to be Lieut. Colonel vice Bell promoted, dated June 1st. 1825.

225. Copy of letter to the Adjutant General, containing suggestions respecting the division of the Hastings

Militia into two regiments, dated 1st Sept., 1826.

226. Copy of circular of Colonel Bell to the officers, commanding companies of the First Regiment of Hastings Militia, in which he goes carefully into the question of irregularity, and neglect of duty, and threatens to deal severely with all delinquents. This document bears a most striking resemblance to the orders he used to receive with painful regularity from Colonel Ferguson.

227. Order of Colonel Bell, directing the manner of

organizing the Troop of Dragoons.

228. Letter of Col. Bell to Capt. Abel Gilbert, favoring although regretting his resignation.

229. Copy of letter to Col. Bell, to the Adjutant General, expressing his views upon certain resignations.

230. Application of Donald Mackenzie, for appointment

as Lieutenant of the Troop of Dragoons.

- 230 (a). Letter from Major Coleman to Capt. Petrie, calling for certain explanations regarding failure to make returns, and including the following, "It is not the desire of Col. Bell to take any further notice of your conduct on that day, providing you are sensible of the impropriety thereof and acknowledge the same".
- 231. Order of Colonel Bell, directing Captain Turnbull to call out his troop.
- 232. Letter from Capt. Wm. Zwick, recommending appointment of Benjamin Clark as Sergeant.
- 233. Letter from the Adjutant General to Colonel Bell, requiring a return shewing all moneys received from Menonists, Quakers and Tunkers, for exemption from Militia Services.
- 234. Letter from Adjutant General, dated January 31st, 1829, to Colonel Bell, acknowledging receipt of a

letter from the Colonel, requesting that he be allowed "to retire from active life", and expressing His Excellency's pleasure in permitting him to do so, and promising to forward his name to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the hope that some provision may be made to reward him for his faithful services.

235. Letter from the Adjutant General to Colonel Bell, dated 15th October, 1831, asking why certain names were omitted from the lists, shewing the men who served in the

vear 1812.

236. Letter from Government House, conveying the consent of the Lieut. Governor that Wm. Bell may hold the offices of magistrate and coroner of the Midland District.

237. Articles governing the training of the officers of the Hastings Militia.

## (Case No. 16-Accounts, &c.)

William Bell appears to have been most methodical in his habit of preserving all sorts of documents and papers. Scores of papers, that could have had but a passing interest to him were neatly folded, and on the back he invariably made an endorsement, indicating the nature of the document, and its date. He not only preserved the letters received by him, but in many instances he kept copies of his replies. At a time when there were no letter books, or carbon impressions, this meant the re-writing of the letters, and this too was invariably done by himself. The contents of Case No. 16 are principally accounts dating back as far as 1787. To the ordinary reader these might not prove to be very interesting reading, yet much useful information can be gleaned from them.

No. 1. A three page account of John Grant with Wm.

Bell, beginning July 7th, 1787.

No. 2. Account of Stephen Gilbert with Ferguson & Bell, dated 1789. In this account we find tea charged at six shillings a pound, and sugar at one shilling and ten pence.

No. 3. Is a long list of goods left with Wm. Bell for sale. The list contains among other articles, tomahawks, clasp knives, razors, beaver spear and scalping knives.

No. 4. Account of Ferguson & Bell with Elizabeth Smith. This account begins and ends with tobacco at 2s. 6d. per pound.

No. 5. Joseph Forsythe account against Wm. Bell, dated 1789.

No. 6. Is a homemade day book, dated 1790, stitched with shoe thread. We find in this account that two shil-

lings and six pence were paid for otter skins and four pence for muskrats.

No. 7. John Fairman's account with Ferguson & Bell, dated 1790. Loaf sugar and butter each are charged at two shillings per pound.

No. 8. David Simmon was charged by Ferguson & Bell 12s. 3d. for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards of linen, and in the same account was credited with 12s. 6d. for clearing one acre of land; date 1790.

No. 9. (1790). Orry Rose is credited by the same firm with eleven shillings for two and one quarter days' work with his horses.

No. 9 (a). (1790). The same Orry Rose, according to this account buys tobacco at 3s. 6d. per pound and sheeting at 3s. 6d. per yard, and pays for his purchases with turnips at nine pence per bushel, and in work at two shillings per day.

No. 10. (1790). Elizabeth Smith's account with Ferguson & Bell.

No. 11. As a Walbridge's account with Wm. Bell. Two gallons of gin share the honors with a hat as the most important items, each twenty shillings.

No. 12. (1790). G. Mikel in account with Ferguson & Bell. In this we find 1s. 3d. charged for one half gallon of salt.

No. 13. (1790). James Kenny in this account with Ferguson & Bell is credited with 12s. 6d. for clearing one acre of land.

No. 14. (1790). An account rendered by Peter Vanalstine to David Vandorhidah.

No. 14 (a). Another account between the same parties.

No. 15. Wm. Laumberg's account with Ferguson & Bell.

No. 16. (1790). John Germain's account at the store of Ferguson & Bell, calico is charged at five shillings per yard.

No. 17. (1790). Thomas Colquhune pays for his tobacco and thread by working for the firm at one shilling and eight pence a day.

No. 18. (1790). Order in favor of Ferguson & Bell, for nine shillings Halifax currency.

No. 19. (1790). John Germain's store account.

No. 19 (a). (1791). The same.

No. 20. (1791). An account shewing that pork sold at seven and one half pence per pound.

No. 21. (1791). Receipted account of James Robins, a tavern keeper, against Wm. Bell.

No. 22. (1793). This account of John Blacker against Wm. Bell contains the item "a black silk handkf 5s."

No. 23. (1793). Samuel Sherwood in account with Wm. Bell.

No. 23 (a). The same.

No. 24. (1795). Estate of John Fairman to Wm. Bell.

No. 25. (1795). Account Philip Zwick with Ferguson & Bell.

No. 26. (1794). From this memorandum book we learn that venison sold at one and one half pence per pound.

No. 27. (1796). Account for crockery.

No. 28. (1796). Order on Wm. Bell, addressed to Wm. Bell, Bay Kanty, which would indicate how the name of the bay was pronounced at that time.

No. 28 (a). Account for 7½ gallons of whiskey, which cost £1 17s. 6d, date 1794.

No. 29. (1799). Letter to Wm. Bell, asking for payment of an account.

No. 30. Another homemade account book similar to No. 6, and containing 58 pages, and extending over a period from 1799 to 1814. Most of it is in the handwriting of William Bell, and the first few pages are headed "mohawk village", but the rest of the book where there are any headings at all are "Thurlow". The entries are of a miscellaneous character and vary from an entry of a sale of "a Dillworth Spelling book" to a charge for a search warrant.

No. 31. (1800). Receipt on account.

No. 32. (1802). An account against Wm. Bell made up principally of charges for making shoes. The prevailing charge for making a pair of shoes appears to be two shillings and six pence.

No. 33. (1806). Copy of an account rendered by Wm. Bell.

No. 34. (1806). Copy of account rendered by Wm. Bell to Margaret Simpson, including among other things, a charge for several gallons of whiskey at five shillings per gallon.

No. 34 (a). Similar to No. 34.

No. 35. (1806). An account against Wm. Bell, in which he is charged seven shillings and six pence per pound for three pounds of green tea.

No. 35 (a). An account in the following year between the same parties from which it appears that green tea had been reduced in price by one shilling.

No. 36. (1807). A small account of Wm. Bell's against Seth Meecham.

No. 37. (1810). A blacksmith's account against Wm.

No. 38. (1815). Letter from John Ferguson to Wm. Bell.

No. 39. A dunning note.

No. 40. (1820). Account rendered by Wm. Bell.

No. 41. Account rendered to Wm. Bell.

No. 42. Account rendered to Wm. Bell.

No. 43. A ledger of Wm. Bell, covering the years 1818 to 1823, inclusive.

No. 44. Account against Wm. Bell, 1827 to 1832, inclusive.

No. 45. (1829). Account for two loads of wood ashes sold at six pence per bushel.

No. 46. (1830). Promissory note.

No. 47. (1834). A carpenter's account against Wm. Bell; wages seven shillings and six pence per day.

No. 48. A doctor's account.

No. 49. Fragment of an account.

### (Case No. 16-Local)

The documents in Case No. 16 classified as "local", were written from some point in the County of Lennox and Addington, and are of especial local interest.

No. 1. Letter written from John Ferguson to William Bell from Fredericksburgh, and dated 29th December, 1788. In it appears the following, "Our courts are opened but they have done nothing particular, but I suppose will in a few days".

No. 2. Letter written from the same place by Ferguson to Bell, dated 1788.

No. 3. Letter from Ferguson to Bell, dated 1789.

No. 4. (1790). Letter written from "Nappanie Mills" by Ferguson to Bell, advising him of the forwarding of two bags of flour.

No. 5. (1790). Letter written from Fredericksburgh by Ferguson to Bell. The writer had been taken ill, but says he must attend court on the 16th, sick or well.

No. 6. (1790). Letter written by Jas. Clark to Wm. Bell from "N. Mills", urging Bell to secure for him twenty or thirty bushels of oats.

No. 7. (1790). Letter from Ferguson to Bell written from 3rd Township.

No. 8. The following autograph letter is to the point, and was written by the first lawyer of the County of Lennox and Addington:—

Adolphustown, Decr. 19th, 1796

Sir.

Mr. Forsyth insists upon me summoning you if the debt due him is not discharged without delay. You I hope will not put me to the necessity.

I am sir,

Your hum'l serv't

Mr. Wm. Bell.

N. Hagerman

Nicholas Hagerman, the writer of this letter, was one of the ten practitioners who met at Wilson's Hotel, Newark, in July, 1797, to organize the Law Society of

Upper Canada.

No. 9. Written in 1791 from the 3rd township from Ferguson to Bell. The following are extracts, "I wish you would put up, and send by him the five volumes of the History of England by Hume, and the two volumes of Andersons History of France. . . . I was sorry to hear that you allowed any woman whatever to jilt you, If you was ever serious in the other quarter you richly deserve it".

No. 10. (1795). Letter from Alex. Clark, Fredericksburgh, to Wm. Bell, asking "payment for the whiskie".

No. 11. (1799). Letter from Ferguson to Bell.

No. 12. (1799). Letter from Ebenr. Washburn, of Fredericksburgh, to Wm. Bell, asking him to acquaint the Indians with his desire to purchase a quantity of Ginsen roots.

No. 13. (1808). Order for payment of money given to Timothy Thompson.

No. 14. Oath of Walter T. Orr, as a surveyor of lands, taken before Robert Clark, J.P., at Ernesttown, in September, 1819.

No. 15. (1820). Notice, summoning a meeting of the Midland District Agricultural Society.

No. 16. (1820). List of subscribers to the funds of the Midland District Agricultural Society. Wm. Bell heads the list with one pound, the largest subscription.

No. 17. (1830). Report of the commissioners for the road from Napanee to Belleville, to the Justices of the Peace for the County of Hastings. This report, referring to the work of laying out the road, is in the handwriting of Allan Macpherson, of Napanee, the chairman of the committee.

No. 18. Letter from Rev. R. S. Forneri to Dr. William Canniff, requesting him to assist in the centennial celebration of the landing of the Loyalists, to be held at Adolphustown, in 1884.

The four succeeding documents are uniform in style, all engrossed upon foolscap with a wide margin on the left hand side containing brief references to the contents. Each set of papers is bound by a bit of white parchment at the upper left hand corner, fastened with green tape, and the handwriting proclaims itself to be that of a professional penman. Everything about them points to their having been prepared in one of the departmental offices of the Government. Are these the copies of manuscript from the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, for which Dr.

Canniff thanks the Hon. Lewis Wallbridge in the preface to his history?

#### MEMOIRS OF COL. JOHN CLARK.

The most voluminous document in the Canniff collection is a copy of the memoirs of Col. John Clark, which extends over 114 pages of closely written foolscap. While the Colonel pays some attention to himself and his family, the production is by no means an autobiography, but it fairly carries out his intention as expressed by himself. "It will give posterity a general idea of the early state of the country soon after it was settled by disbanded soldiers and U. E. Loyalists, whose ambition was to live and die under the British flag."

There does not appear to be any phase of life of the early settler upon which he does not touch to some extent. In many instances he goes quite minutely into the details of some event or custom. Being a military man, it was quite natural that he should take a deep interest in the war of 1812, and by far the greater part of his memoirs deals with this subject. He goes into the causes leading up to the outbreak, enumerates the composition of the opposing forces, follows the movements of the troops, and describes the various engagements.

Upon the whole, the memoirs are very good reading, and furnish much useful information, which it would be very difficult to secure, but for the foresight of such men as Col. Clark.

Colonel Clark's father lived for a time in the township of Fredericksburgh, about three miles from the site of the present town of Napanee, and shortly after its erection in 1786, he was placed in charge of the Government flour mill at that place. In 1789 he was transferred to Fort Niagara, where he was appointed Barrack-master, a position which he continued to fill until his death in 1810. He is not to be confused with Robert Clerk, who built the flour mill at Napanee in 1785. Col. Clark was born at Frontenac in 1783, and was baptised by the Rev. John Stuart, the first English Church Missionary in Upper Canada. He recalls in the memoirs but few recollections of his early life in Fredericksburgh, as the home was saddened by the death of his mother in 1787, but he frequently reverts to the experiences of his boyhood days in the Niagara peninsula, with which he was seemingly infatuated. In writing of the location of his father's home, he says, "when we would occasionally stroll over to Queenston Heights and look at the magnificent prospect, little did I contemplate that a battle would ever be fought on that pleasant spot, or that a magnificent monument to a British hero would

ever crown those heights".

It is quite apparent that in writing his settlement of Upper Canada, Dr. Canniff used much useful information from these memoirs of Col. Clark.

### MEMOIRS OF REV. JOHN STUART, D.D.

On page 258 of Dr. Canniff's valuable work will be found in italics and quotation marks a reference to a transcript of the memoirs of Rev. John Stuart.

"Memoirs of the Rev. John Stuart, D.D., father of the Upper Canada Church. He opened the first academy at Cataraqui-Kingston, 1786. The last missionary to the Mohawks."

This identical document is also preserved in the Canniff collection and covers twenty-six pages of foolscap. Written at the top of the first page in pencil is the following: "I will not insert the whole but will the more salient facts under the head of "Clergymen". This memorandum was evidently made by Dr. Canniff, when laying out the material for his book, and he adhered to his intention as expressed in this memorandum. In chapters XXVI. and XXVII. he quotes extensively from these memoirs.

### TESTIMONIAL OF MR. ROGER BATES.

This brief but interesting testimonial is not referred to by Dr. Canniff in his history, although he quotes from its contents at pages 199 and 202. I am not aware that it has ever been published and as the information it contains is given first hand and is of an important character, I consider it worthy of being reproduced in full.

## TESTIMONIAL OF MR. ROGER BATES OF THE TOWNSHIP OF HAMILTON, DISTRICT OF NEW-CASTLE, NOW LIVING ON HIS FARM NEAR COBOURG.

"Our family came originally from Yorkshire in England. They were of the old fashioned Tory or Conservative School, who looked upon no form of Government equal to the British Constitution founded on the principles laid down by the English Barons at Runnymeade, when they compelled King John, to sign the great Charter of Liberty."

"To the present day, all the Bates family follow in the footsteps of their ancestors."

"As encouragement was held out for Loyal British Settlers to locate in America, my Grandfather turned his attention to the western Hemisphere and having satisfied his mind that his posterity might become considerable land owners."

"He sailed for the New World, and arrived in Boston between the year 1760 & 1770, when he commenced farming, lands at that period being obtained at a very low price to actual settlers."

"The troubles commenced in 1774, wheo all who were loyal to the House of Hanover, took up arms in defence of their Sovereign. In this conflict my Grandfather took a conspicuous part. My Grandmother was an active intelligent woman, wonderfully industrious, who attended to the farming affairs till they were compelled to quit the United States territory being determined never to side with the Republicans. Liberal offers were made to the U. E. Loyalist so the family removed their effects to Upper Canada, where for their services the Governor granted them 1200 acres of land and 200 acres for each of the children."

"To the best of my knowledge it was about the year 1780 when they came into the country. My father was then a boy about 13 years of age. before they finally settled down, they looked about to ascertain the most favourable location. a vast number went to Prince Edward District in the Bay of Quinte and there my Grandfather and Grandmother with their young family went also."

"At first they had to experience great privations, but being possessed of indomitable courage, and love for the British Constitution they soon set to work with the materials they brought with them and erected a log House, After clearing a few trees and thus got a shelter from the storms and winds of Heaven."

"From over exertion and exposure my Grandfather had a very severe attack of ague, it is a most trying complaint and at that period there seemed to be no cure. It was with great reluctance that he made up his mind to leave this fine locality. The waters teemed with fish—the air with birds no end to ducks—the woods filled with deer, beaver, wolves, martins, squirrels and rabbits."

"Implements were very scarce, so that at first they adopted many ingenious contrivances of the Indians for procuring food. Not the least simple and handy was a crotched pole with which they secured salmon in any quantity the creeks and Rivers being full of them."

"Skins of animals they obtained from the Indians who at that period were very numerous throughout the country."

"With those skins my grandmother made all sorts of useful and last drepes which were most comfortable for a country life, and for going through the bush made leather petticoats for herself and girls, as they could not be torn by the brambles, they made capital dresses—made some for the boys, and at night were extremely comfortable for bed covers. There were no tanners in those days shoes and boots were made of the same useful material."

"Finding the ague still troublesome a batteau was built with the assistance of the Indians, and one general moving the whole family departed with their effects, coasting along the shores of Ontario, until they reached the present Township of Clarke in Northumberland County."

"The change of air operated favourably and there they drew their lands and settled."

"My Grandfather often remarked that for six months he never saw a white person, their only visitors being Indians with whom they got along with well and in process of time learned a smattering of their language, those real owners of the soil being then under British protection were well treated and became firm and loyal to the British cause."

"In exchange for little presents given them they reciprocated by bringing skins of animals and frequently a deer so that they got along capitally. Could they rise from their ashes they would be astonished at the flourishing condition of Clarke now."

"In process of time other settlers came along, not the least conspicuous in after time were the Baldwins and the Beards."

"Robert Baldwin, who was my grandfathers intimate friend afterwards, was a gentleman of good family the owner of a small property called Knockmore in the County of Cork, Ireland."

"He emigrated to Canada at the early period of 1798 in all probability in consequence of the Rebellion in that distracted country."

"From the liberality of Governor Simcoe's proclamation inviting settlers into the country, he drew lands near my Grandfathers and located—calling his clearing Annawa in the Township of Clarke. A stream ran through the property which to this day is called Baldwin's Creek,"

"A Grandfather of the Beards of Toronto was also one of my fathers neighbours. As the girls grew up—they married. I had five aunts. Betsey Sally, Huldah Polly and Theodosia. The three first married Thomas Barrett, Amos Gills and Joseph Selden from the United States, where they joined their husbands who were well to do, having good property there and though adherents to the new republic, were highly respectable. Sally and Huldah married Stephen Conger of Prince Edward, and Richard

Lorekin, of New Castle both staunch Government men, and have remained so with their families."

"My Grandmother remained on the farm at Clarke until her death which took place in 1838 at the advanced age of 96. My Grandfathers death was caused by fright in consequence of a fire which took place in 1819."

"He was then a hearty old man, but the above calamity hastened his death, at the premature age of 84. had it not been for this dire event, in all probability he would have reached 100 possessing a wonderful athletic constitution, he was a terrible aristocrat, a regular John Bull to the back bone."

"As our family grew up in the Clarke settlement, my Grandfather wished to see them well settled before he died, and an opportunity offered by the purchase of a military grant from George Shaw of 600 acres of land, which they drew in 1804 in the vicinity of Cobourg."

"Whilst the lands were being cleared and a log house erecting they opened a small store close to the property now possessed by the White family."

"Here my father Stoddard Bates and my uncle Lew Bates planted an orchard and we had a snug temporary residence."

"This store was supplied with goods by Enoch Wood, who brought the first assortment to Toronto."

"Everything at that time was very dear, but a system of barter was carried on that was of advantage to all parties."

"My father made a great quantity of Pot Ash, which fetched at that time a good price."

"This in part paid for his goods. On referring to the Old Books now in possession of my mother, I find some entries that give an Idea of the general prices of goods—which people had then to pay."

"1804. Gimblet \$\frac{1}{2}\$, Padlock \$1\frac{1}{2}\$ Jack-knife \$1 Callico \$1\frac{1}{2}\$ per yd. Needles Peach, Ball of cotton 7\frac{1}{2}\$. Board of Pigs \$1 dollar per week. Old axe \$2\frac{1}{2}\$—had to send them to Kingston to be ground. Tea 8 s lb to 10 s. Halifax Currency. Barrel Pork 27 to 30\$ per barrel. Flannel 6-3 yards, Salt 6 d. per lb, Mill saw fourteen dollars"

"The first saw mill erected in the neighborhood was where the present Ontario Mills and Factory stands and was put up by the father of Colonel McDonald, of Peterboro' in 1803, this was a great boon to the people, who were always in want of a few boards to finish off their Shanties."

"My Father and Uncle were partners in this store, which turned out very profitable, as the settlers round were always in want of something or other. The woods

at that time were alive with deer and bears. Many were killed by the Indians who traded off their skins dressed by the Squaws, which made useful garments. I find by memorandum in my fathers old books, that he was married on the 20th October, 1806."

"An old family of the name of Hare had located a few miles from our residence and it was one of that old farmers, buxom daughters that he fell desperately in love with. The mode of courting in those days was a good deal of the Indian fashion."

"She would run through the trees and bushes and pretend to get away from him, but somehow or other, he managed to catch her, gave her a kiss and they soon got married, I rather think by a magistrate, Clergymen being rare in those parts."

"Time was too valuable to make a fuss about such matters-they depended upon their own industry and got

along wonderfully well."

"John McCarty was also married by a Magistrate. he was an old settler. For a long time my Grandfather had to go with some of the neighbours, all the way from Clarke to Kingston 125 miles with their wheat to be ground there. They had no other conveyance than Batteaux, which were commodious as the journey would sometimes occupy five or six weeks."

"Of an Evening they putting up some Creek and obtained their salmon with ease using a forked stick that passed over the fishes backs, and held them tight as with a spring, the wood I have often heard my Grandfather say, that after a few trees were felled, they burnt the brushwood, and planted the seed between the stumps which being planted on virgin sail, turned out most prolific."

"Some times they were so long gone for grist, in consequence of bad weather setting in, that the women would collect together and have a good cry, thinking the batteaux had foundered, they however always turned up in time, taking the precaution to make tents of poles, and brush to keep out the bad weather and wolves which were wonderfully plentiful, when they were gone on these provision journeys, the dogs were very useful in finding game."

"One old dog in particular was very smart evidently having an eye to his own bill of fare. You had nothing to do but tell him you had nothing to eat and off he would go driving the Deer into the Lake, where the youngsters could easily shoot them with an old Queens Arms Musket, the principal fire arms in use."

"The privations they underwent at times will scarce bear mentioning, when compared with the early settlers at Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick after taking Quebec."

"From the best authority we have accounts, the privations, which the early colonists endured were severe to a degree of which, those who now plant themselves in a Canadian Woods, have scarcely a conception. They had not only to suffer the miseries of hunger and the want of almost every convenience of life, to which they had been accustomed, but they could scarcely enjoy that relief from toil which sleep usually affords, from the dread of being burnt in their habitations by the Indians or of becoming victims to the Tomahawk. So that it required more than ordinary resolution and fortitude to establish themselves in defiance of immense difficulties. My father said, that some of the U. E. Loyalists brought their spinning Wheels and looms with them. All the youngsters learned to weave and do a bit of sewing."

"In the back country out at Keene there is an old loom now extant, which was in use by my mother, 50 years ago, which I have often worked. Every settlement for years was a sort of Robinson Crusoe Life—very healthy—none seemed to suffer from accidents. If they met with any they had many simple remedies that performed many wonderful cures, far more efficacious than the art and mystery of Quack Doctors, located through the country. People lived in those days to a good old age. There was no fuss about Religion in those days—the families would assemble together on the Sunday or any evening to read the Scriptures and sing a Psalm or Hymn, often found more solid consolation than in our crowded churches now-a-days. Fully verifying the Truth of the Scriptures "that where two or three are gathered together"."

"Preachers were rare and very thinly scattered. The Rev. Mr. Stuart, was I believe the first Church Missionary. He was driven out of the United States after the declaration of Independence, most cruelly treated but found a hospitable Asylum under British Supremacy, which he originally enjoyed. He was recommended to the Mission Society by Sir William Johnson and arrived at the Mohawk Village in 1770 but had to leave in 1781 and became Chaplain to the Royal Yorkers from which date his field of labor in Canada commences."

"The Revd. John Doty four years before in 1777 escaped with his family into Canada and was appointed by Sir John Johnson to a Military Chaplainey but the earliest I believe of all was the Revd. John Ogilvie who attended the Royal Regiment upon the expedition to Fort Niagara which surrendered in 1759."

"The principal settlers being French of course those reverend gentlemen were not patronized nor did their labours really commence until the first settlement of Upper Canada by the U. E. Loyalists."

"My mother remembers a Mr. Langhorne an eccentric good old man, who never would marry any one after 11 o'clock A.M. much to the disappointment of lovers who travelled through the woods on Horseback or Boat expeditions."

"As such occasions were generally holidays they furnished themselves with Tomahawks and implement in case of Emergency, so as to camp out if required. The ladies had no white dresses to spoil or fancy Bonnets. With deer-skin petticoats, home spun gowns, and perhaps a squirrel skin bonnet, they looked charming in the eyes of their lovers, who were rigged out in similar materials."

"How they managed for rings I know not—but presume the Missionary or Magistrate were furnished with them as part of their labors of love. Now I think of it I have heard my mother say that Uncle Ferguson, a magistrate rather than disappoint a happy couple who had walked twenty miles, made search throughout the house and luckily found a pair of old English skates, to which a ring was attached, seizing the glorious prize, he went on with the ceremony and fixing the ring on the young woman's finger, reminding her that though a homely substitute, she must continue to wear, otherwise the ceremony would be dissolved. That curious token was greatly cherished and is still among the family relics."

"Before the country was properly settled the marriage ceremony was performed sometimes by Magistrates or a stray Missionary, an Adjutant or Surgeon of the Regiment who officiated as chaplain-there were then no Registry Offices, and as the documents were often lost by fires or other contingencies and as families grew up and increased, some demur as to the legality of those marriages. In 1793, therefore, while the Parliament was held at Niagara in Governor Simcoes, time an Act was passed legalizing all those marriages, that no demur should hereafter arise posterity, as to the validity of titles to lands and the occupants thereof. The war with the United States broke out in 1812, which was a source of great consternation to the country at first, a great hindrance to those engaged in clearing their lands. The determined Loyalty of the settlers however soon changed the gloomy aspect of affairs."

"My father at that time had a good team and horses and as such appendages to a farm were rare, he was employed by the Government in Teaming ammunition and provisions to the scene of action for which he was afterwards liberally remunerated by the Government." "There was but one regular road through the country, called the Danford Road which led from Kingston to Toronto and continued thence to Hamilton and Niagara."

"It was on a rough scale similar to the Watling Street road constructed by the Romans through England. In this vicinity it is still known by the original name."

"When we look back and contemplate the last fifty years, it is wonderful to notice the extraordinary change that has taken place in the general aspect of the country."

"We have now good roads through every part of the Province, comfortable Farm Houses—first rate implements of Agriculture. Orchards in full bearing. The finest wheat in the world, with the exception of Australia."

"Improved breeds of Cattle, fine Teams, good oxen, Superior Sheep, excellent wool, Esculants of every description, Cider presses, in short everything that would do credit to the Mother Country, whose bosom our Ancestors left for the wilds of Upper Canada, and with indomitable courage, persevering Industry and great labour, have now the unbounded pleasure of viewing Farms that are a credit to the present generation who I trust will pursue the old beaten track of their forefathers, and forever remain faithful and loyal in defense of those institutions that stand pre-eminent in the Annals of Nations.

(Signed) ROGER BATES.

Witness

(S) GEO. COVENTRY.

### REPORT OF JOHN COLLINS.

This report made under the direction of His Excellency Lord Dorchester was no doubt a most useful document at the time it was presented, as it dealt very extensively with the condition of the forts, and harbors from Carlton Island to Michillimackinac. Whatever Collins undertook to do he performed it most thoroughly and this report is no exception.

### U. E. ROLL.

This is a copy of "A roll of the inhabitants of the Midland District, in the province of Upper Canada, who adhered to the Unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783, taken in open sessions held at Kingston, October the 11th and at different adjournments to the 15th day of November, 1796" and contains 972 names.

In the same case with the foregoing documents are a number of "school papers" which were published in Volume V. of this Society's publications.

Two copies of the Kingston Gazette, dated respectively March 16th, 1816, and June 14th, 1817, are in the collection. The former contains sixteen columns, and the latter twenty, with a corresponding increase in the length. The period of startling headlines had not arrived. The news items were very meagre, and were published in the most unostentatious manner. The first, and fourth pages, were given over exclusively to advertisements, and a fair proportion of the two inner pages were used for the same purpose. The advertising rates were as follows:—

Six lines and under 2s. 6d. first insertion, and 1s. 3d. every subsequent.

Ten lines and under 3s. 4d. first insertion, and 1s. 8d. every subsequent.

Ten lines and upwards 4d. per line first insertion, and 2d. per line every succeeding insertion.

Nicholas Hagerman, the Adolphustown lawyer, occupies three shillings and four pence worth of space in a prominent place on the first page to announce to the world that he has two pot ash kettles for sale. In the same column Geo. Okill Stuart offers for sale several farms in the Townships of Pittsburgh and Kingston.

Daniel Brown invites the public to come to him for garden seeds, assuring intending purchasers that he has "nine different kinds of lettice seed, early, late and red cabbage, culliflower, savory, kail, eight kinds of kidney beans, carrett, Thyme, marjoram, red beet, &c., &c."

Peter Van Skiver, of Adolphustown, offers for sale three elegant wooden clocks, warranted to keep good time, and states his willingness to accept most kinds of country produce in payment.

Barnabas Dickinson, of Montreal, advertises the introduction of a new line of stages, a bi-weekly service between Montreal and Kingston. "It leaves Montreal on Mondays and Thursdays at eight a.m. and arrives in Kingston Wednesdays and Saturdays, and leaves Kingston at the same time and arrives in Montreal on Wednesdays and Saturdays."

Under the heading "education" we find the following: "Mr. & Mrs. Woolf beg leave to inform the public, that on the 21st inst., they purpose to commence a Boarding and Day school in the house recently occupied by Dr. McCauley for the instruction of young ladies in the different branches of Female Education."

The following advertisement by the publisher of the Gazette under the caption "something new" is rather unusual in its character. "The subscriber is desirous of settling all his accounts up to 30th June, 1817, in order that he may know how he stands in the world. Those

therefore who have accounts against him are desired to present them on or about that day, that a settlement may take place. He also expects that some of his country subscribers who are one, two, and three, years in arrears will call and settle their accounts without further invitation."

There evidently were no bargain counters in those days, or if so, they were not announced through the advertisements, as in no instance is the selling price of a single article mentioned.

One may look in vain for an editorial comment of any kind or a local news item in either of these copies. Those portions not given over to advertisements are filled with extracts from other papers and communications. the latter is a rather lengthy but clever dissertation upon the sin of swearing which began as follows: "It was the saying of a great man of the British nation that common swearers give their souls to the devils gratis, having no pleasure in return for it, and doubtless it was well observed; for no man in his senses can pretend to say there is any enjoyment in that particular vice . . . let us then search a little into the motives that prompt men so often to fall into it. It must I think proceed either from a barrenness of invention, keeping continually bad company, being overpowered by liquor, from a false modesty which is afraid to be particular, or finally from a monstrous desire of being thought wicked merely for the sake of wickedness without either pleasure or profit". then proceeds to deal with the question under these different heads. Of drunkenness, he says, "Let a man's parts be ever so bright, if he suffers liquor to take possession of the seat of his understanding, reason no longer presides; his passions which before lay dormant, rise up with redoubled vigour and hurry him away impetuously into the abyss of vice and swearing in that case is generally the forerunner of all the rest, being, as it were, a signal to let us know that we are no longer our own masters," Further on the writer adds, "It has been of late too much the custom for men of quality and fashion to swear by way of giving a grace to their conversation; others have heedlessly followed their pernicious example, which has been no small reason of its spreading so much."

The next communication in the same issue was a step from the sublime to the ridiculous. In it a certain Dulcibella Thankley implores the editor for his advice as to whether or not there is any remedy for a mania her husband has contracted for smashing all the household goods, and furniture, within reach of his cane when he is in a passion. She assures him that he is "a good honest

gentleman, that is exceedingly good natured and at the same time very choleric, there is no standing before him when he is in a passion, but as soon as it is over he is the best humored creature in the world; when he is angry, he breaks all my china-ware that chance to lay in his way, and the next morning sends me in twice as much as he broke the day before". The editor did not presume to enlighten his correspondent as to how to treat this malady. Perhaps the desired end was attained by publishing the letter which concluded with, "you will be pleased to publish this letter, by that means my husband will know that you do not approve of his conduct".

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# LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### PAPERS AND RECORDS

VOL. X

### THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE COUNTY

A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE NEWSPAPERS OF LENNOX AND ADDINGTON PRESENTED IN THE FORM OF EXTRACTS FROM THE OLD FILES

COMPILED AND EDITED
By WALTER S. HERRINGTON, K.C.

NAPANEE, ONTARIO
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
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First Open MeetingOct. 25th, 1907		
Affiliated with Ontario Historical SocietyMarch 31st, 1908		
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Vol. IX. The Canniff Collection		

### OFFICERS, 1919

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### INTRODUCTION

In the preparation of this volume I have had something more in view than to simply place on record the history of the newspapers of Lennox and Addington. By studying these papers, particularly the editorials and communications, we may get into closer touch with the thoughts and feelings of the people for whom and by whom the articles were written. It may appear that I have given undue prominence to The Standard. I feel that I am quite justified in devoting so much space to it, as it is the only paper which preserved its files and provided material for extended references. Moreover it was by far the strongest paper published in the county and for over thirty years it was a weekly visitor to hundreds of homes, and the uniform soundness of its editorials gained for it the respect and confidence of its readers.

In making my selections I have confined myself pretty well to the story of the separation of the County. I might, instead, have taken up the subject of the American War or Confederation, both of which were very ably and fully treated in its columns. Separation appeared to be the most suitable subject as it is a purely local and a very important one too, and the press, particularly The Standard, played a most conspicuous part in bringing it about.

W. S. HERRINGTON.



### THE NAPANEE BEE

Lennox and Addington did not boast a newspaper as early as many of the other counties of the province. That was due to the fact that Kingston was the county town and the press of that place was the first established in Upper Canada and appeared to serve the needs of the people of this part of the old County of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington. The first publication to enter the field was The Napanee Bee, which made its bow to the public on the 2nd of November, A.D. 1850. The editor and proprietor was the Rev. G. D. Greenleaf, who resigned the pulpit for the editorial chair, and in the rear of the press-room spent his spare hours in making and mending furniture. In his dual occupation he never quite abandoned his ministerial functions and frequently officiated in the Methodist pulpit on Sundays, and regularly padded his columns with lectures on temperance and never missed an opportunity to expose what he conceived to be the weaknesses of the other denominations.

The Bee was a five column sheet of four pages, which was occasionally enlarged to six columns when matter was plentiful and orders were not awaiting fulfilment in the cabinet making branch of the establishment. The editor found it necessary to apologize at times for reducing its size. This was generally due to the scarcity of paper, but on one occasion the explanation was as follows,—"One of our printers having taken French leave of us on Sabbath evening and taken sans ceremonie a watch belonging to another from our office, our being obliged in consequence to lose a day in catching and properly disposing of the thief and getting back the watch are the principal reasons of our being under the necessity of allowing our sheet to go out in its present appearance."

With a prescience rarely encountered in a village sanctum the editor in commenting upon the recently enacted Fugitive Slave Law of the United States, writes in his issue of November 16th, 1850:—"Between the Northern and Southern portions of the Union an implacable enmity seems to have taken root; and bitter, indeed, will be the fruit thereof when it shall have been matured. Slavery is a dark stain on the escutcheon of the American people, a

stain which will only be removed, I fear, by the spilling of blood."

I fancy I can see a smile lighting up the fat countenance of the Reverend editor when he penned the following:—
"The Bishop of Toronto has recently exercised his Episcopal authority in dismissing from his pastoral connection with the English Church in this province, the Rev. Daniel Murphy, a regularly ordained clergyman in the Church in which he is now degraded."

Then follows a copy of the Bishop's letter in which he reprimands the Rev. Mr. Murphy for "attending protracted meetings of dissenters and permitting your family to go to dissenting places of worship. Add to all this you appeared before me without any clerical habit not even bands and had only one confirmation in your extensive mission."

There evidently were other reasons for the action of his Lordship in arriving at the conclusion, as he did, that Mr. Murphy's continuance in the Diocese was not for the benefit of the church; but as these were the only ones mentioned in the Bishop's letter, Mr. Greenleaf eagerly seized upon them as the "only assignable reason for this exercise of his Lordship's displeasure".

The Bee adopted an attractive method of reminding its delinquent subscribers that payment of their accounts would be quite acceptable to the proprietor:—

"It does not with our views agree,
To be forever dunning;
But if you'll pay us for the Bee,
You'll save us cost and running.

We've served you all, as best we could To literary honey, And now we want both flour and wood And wont refuse the money.

Our terms, you know, are—IN ADVANCE, Of this you've not been heedful, And now improve the present chance, And hand us in the needful."

It was on the subject of temperance that the Bee waxed most eloquent. Every copy devoted one or more columns to the question so dear to the heart of the editor. On one occasion The Whig took up the gauntlet for the tavern keepers and expressed the opinion that the taverns were so well managed that they were becoming as clean, tidy and comfortable as the far famed inns of New and Old England, and regretted that they were being so persecuted by the temperance organization. This exasperated the

reverend editor, who promptly came to the rescue of the temperance societies, and handled the Whig without gloves. "This is certainly a rich idea—an idea every way worthy of the cranium which conceived it, the pen which wrote it and the press which spread it before the world." masterly style he advanced the oft-repeated arguments against the traffic and reached the climax of his effort in the following: - c'It is, however, indeed true, that the popular voice is beginning to be heard, and that the work of spoiliation carried on by the vendors of strong drinks in the sale of those drinks is becoming more and more apparent to all persons of all classes, and that the general ery "down with the liquor traffic", is reverberating louder and yet louder still, throughout Canada; and throughout the world. Speed it on ye winds of Heaven! Ye mighty waves of the King of Waters! Ye snorting iron steeds, traversing vast continents! Ye earth confined lightning, transmitting knowledge with the speed of thought! Ye literary cohorts, engaged in the cause of truth and righteousness and who wield instruments mightier than the sword, the pen and the press. Speed on the shout "down with the liquor traffic", until that class of men, whose pieces of silver are many of them often, very often, the price of blood, are compelled to abandon a business which produced and yet produces nine-tenths of the pauperism and crime throughout the country."

In concluding his three column effusion he took one parting shot at his co-temporary who had dared to say a word in extenuation of the business of the tavern keeper. "The Whig may trumpet forth his honorable alliance and make dolorous lament over the imaginary wrongs of his persecuted constituents—he may extol his own virtues and dilate upon the praiseworthy efforts of his compeers in the cause of intemperance; but let him beware how he charges upon tectotalers the possession of those motives and passions which more than one fact evince to be rankling in his own bosom." The granting of licenses rested with the township councils and for many years the Sons of Temperance were a factor to be reckoned with at The following communication from a corelection time. respondent in the Township of Ernesttown upon the question of tavern licenses is enlightening:-"Mr. Editor,-For the edification of your numerous readers, I lay down to you a short sketch of the proceedings of our learned council on the question of licensing the sale of intoxicating You will remember that there were twelve licenses granted last year; for which the council, the majority of which were Sons, were roundly taken to task by the advocates of the good order, but one of the Sons being ousted by the advocates of the good old rum system, who says that the greatest enjoyment he has, is to take a glass with an old friend when he is out, very little could be expected from that quarter; but light has been advancing during the year and the opposers of the license were sanguine in their expectations."

"Mr. Day thought they ought to give licenses to all

who could pay for them."

"Mr. Warner moved, seconded by Mr. Booth, that the number should not exceed eight."

"Mr. Perry moved, seconded by Mr. Davy, that the number should not exceed eleven."

"The lesser number was carried by the casting vote of the Reeve."

"On the question how much each applicant should pay for a license, Mr. Perry wished to lessen the amount because he did not like to derive a revenue from such a source. Mr. Booth would increase the amount because he thought men ought to pay well for the harm they did in this community."

"On the question whether moral character should be required of the applicants, Mr. Perry thought it would be wrong to employ moral men in such an immoral business. The question was carried in the affirmative by the casting vote of the reeve."

"There are many persons who have heard Mr. McLean declare that he would rather have his right arm cut off than to vote for licenses; but we saw him last Monday deliberately vote for eight." "But he was reeve and could not help it," says somebody. "Who made him reeve? Verily his unenviable position is voluntary. It has been said that every man has his price; but the honor of being reeve of a township is a small price. I have nothing more to say, your readers will make their own comments. You will see I am not in the habit of writing, but I can chop or thresh with any fellow in these diggings."

"Yours respectfully,

JOSH JUMPER."

"Ernesttown, 17th Feb., 1852."

The early newspapers were not afraid to discuss all public questions and if in so doing it became necessary to criticize the conduct of some one in office the editor unhesitatingly did so. Correspondents were encouraged by his example, and the result was the free and open ventilation of all public grievances through the columns of the local press. An excellent illustration of this wholesome practice is shewn in respect to the letter of Josh Jumper.

He opened up the question of the excessive number of licenses and scored Reeve McLean, a Son of Temperance, for voting for eight tavern licenses in the Township of Ernesttown. In the very next issue of the Bee another correspondent comes to the rescue of the Reeve, in an able communication so forceful and well written that I do not hesitate to reproduce it in full:—

"Sir,—In the last number of your excellent little journal there is published a communication from some person who evidently intends to injure the recently elected Reeve of the township of Ernesttown. Now, much as I am opposed to the licensing of taverns—those places of infamy-I cannot join in trying to injure Mr. McLean for his vote at the time mentioned. Surely, friend "Josh Jumper", keen and sprightly as he may appear to be from the name he bears, must be an excessively dull and stupid fellow, if he cannot perceive that, although the reeve did vote for the licensing of eight taverns, yet he did not at all go contrary to his formerly avowed principles; for, the question was not whether there should be eight taverns or none at all, but whether eight or eleven; and he, as every conscientious public man should do, voted the smallest possible number. And, it is an act of great injustice, on the part of the writer of this communication, so to misrepresent the thing as to leave an entirely wrong impression on the minds of your readers-as there is no doubt but what it actually is the desire of the Reeve to have Ernesttown free from all grog holes."

"Now, supposing that he, instead of using his influence in the manner he did, had given the casting vote against the party that is now triumphant, what may I ask would have been the consequence? Why, instead of having only eight of those grog holes, there would have been three more added to this number, to assist in the cause of drunkeness, which is already a deadly curse to the township."

"There is no doubt but that Josh's assertion that "he can chop or thresh with any fellow in the diggings", is perfectly correct, but surely he would have done far better to have remained at the business for which nature seems to have designed him, than to have exhausted his time and energies in trying to injure the characters of certain men, unless he can find some better reasons for doing so than the one given in his last communication."

"Far better would it be for him and such men to remain quietly chopping on their log heaps or threshing on their barn floors than to run their heads against something for which nature had never designed them, for although he may make fearful havoe in chopping a basswood tree, "he's no great shakes" when it comes to cutting and slashing at an opponent through the columns of a newspaper—I do not at all attempt to defend the other part of the council for their proceedings on the question, and although I am of the opinion that they might have done more towards lessening the number of tippling houses that are already in existence—yet I had never expected that they would be abolished entirely during the short space of one year."

"Yours respectfully,

ERNEST TOWN."

"March 3rd, 1855."

The effect of Josh's letter did not end with the ventilation of the license question in the township of Ernesttown. Richmond, including the Village af Napanee, had no less than thirteen taverns, and one "E. S.", moved by the correspondence from Ernesttown, came forward with an epistle, in the same issue of the Bee, which gives us an insight into the game of municipal politics as it was played sixty-six years ago.

"Sir,-In the Bee of the 27th of Feb. I observe a communication signed "Josh Jumper", which gives the proceedings of the Ernesttown Council, with respect to the licensing public houses. He complains most of the Reeve, for giving the easting vote for eight tavern licenses for that township. I do not know what the number of inhabitants is in the township of Ernesttown, but I should think it is one-third more than the township of Richmond, at least, and yet Richmond is to be cursed with 12. What will "Josh" think of this? Can he complain? mond has on the assessment roll about five hundred & fifty freeholders and householders. If this be correct it will give two taverns and a fraction over for every hundred on the assessment roll. Perhaps, Mr. Editor, before going any further it will be proper to look back a year or two. In the year 1850 there were licensed in the township of Richmond 13 taverns. Well sir, the Sons and other true hearted temperance men thought this too many; and were determined to lessen the number. To accomplish this, at the town meeting of 51, there were three pledged temperance men and two Sons proposed for councillors and two Sons and one temperance man for inspectors. The Election was lost, it is true; but with it was lost three taverns."

"The council elected in 51, said Richmond should have only ten taverns. In this they kept their word. It was all we had. The townmeeting of 52 came on and two of the council were candidates again. One of these and the second who addressed the electors in the course of his address said, "as regards the taverns, we last year reduced the number 13 to ten and I think these will have a further reduction."

"The next speaker endorsed the sentiments and said he thought ten too many; and that the number ought to be reduced. After him, came on, a thorough going temperance man as was supposed, but he did not allude to the question at all. It was supposed that, as he was a temperance man, he would go for reducing the number of licensed taverns. But, how vain our wishes and our The very first by-law passed, by the new council hopes! revealed to the sober part of the community how greatly they were deceived. The very first clause of by-law 34 modestly reads "that the whole number of taverns to be licensed to sell wines and spirituous and fermented liquors for the year commencing the first of March, 1852 and ending the last of February, 1853 shall not exceed twelve in the township of Richmond."

"I need only refer to this very by-law to prove deception in order to secure their election."

"But sir, I hope he will listen to by-law 34 of the Richmond code which orders the inspectors to report to the council on the 24th of Feb. the number of applicants they may find qualified, according to by-law No. 33. They did report eight all that they thought qualified. But what does our learned council do? They do not think it enough, some friends are left out and they must have licenses. But they are not prepared, according to by-law No. 33 and the inspectors will not report them qualified. What must be done? This is reduction in the wrong quarter. Tell it not in Gath, speak it not in Akelon that by-law 34 of the township of Richmond is suspended until the 28th of Feb., in order to allow certain parties time to prepare for the inspectors and they are ordered to go and again examine the premises of those they could not report before. One applicant must have yards put in one place, another rent stables away from his house; a third, must repair sheds and I suppose, if necessary borrow some beds and furniture. By the 28th all is ready. The inspectors sally forth, the premises are re-examined and reported as qualified, according to by-law 33, they obtain licenses and so come up to the number specified in said by-law-twelve. And, yet, our council go tooth and nail for reduction. But, sir, if this be reduction, I do most sincerely hope we shall have no such reduction in our taxes."

"I may refer again to this question, at some future time and try to fix the responsibility of the increase of taverns on the right parties, and answer one or two reasons advanced for this increase. I shall close by requesting your readers to consider this matter and 'Josh Jumper' in particular not to take umbrage at the use of his name. I only show him that he ought not to complain of eight taverns when he has three villages and we only one."

"Yours E. S."

The Bee like most of the early newspapers encouraged the rhymster and under the heading "poetry" appeared many contributions, all of them bad, but some much worse than others. Why editors give space to such matter the writer has often wondered for it is a species of offence not confined to the early newspapers. Is the editor afraid of offending the contributor by refusing to publish the silly rhymes that so frequently appear in his columns? If so, it might be well, before accepting the copy, to consider the offence he gives his readers by publishing such stuff. editor of the Bee was partial to rhyme, especially so, if it dealt with the temperance question. I will inflict only one sample upon the reader. A certain Mr. Clark had the distinction of keeping a temperance hotel at Mill Creek (Odessa). The following lines were alleged to have been left at the house by an admiring guest as "a token of respect" to the landlord :-

Long in mem'ry will I cherish
This bright spot amid the gloom
Gath'ring round, while thousands perish
Mid its dark and fearful gloom!
Here, I do not finds its trace;
Here, the curse hath not a place.

While the darkness yet is o'er us, Faith is firm and hope is bright; There's a better day before us; There's an end to this dark night; We may doubt—we may fear—Yet, a Resurrection's near.

Hasten then, its glorious breaking, Sever Rum's soulcankering chain, Rise, the millions now are waking, Dawns Earth, a primal morn again, May this gloom forsake our skies "Star of Temperance" arise.

But, adieu, the years I number, Will be bright with mem'ries here; Though in distant lands I slumber, God will bring your triumph near; Firmly then with faith and might Battle on for human right!

> Good night, Good night, For I must away by the morning light.

The Bee was doomed to be short lived. The editor scolded and coaxed but the subscriptions remained unpaid and there was a falling off in the advertising matter except the patent medicines. He did not seem to realize that the chief end of a newspaper is to provide news for its readers. His advocacy of the temperance cause was quite proper, but the space devoted to it was out of all proportion to that given over to other reading matter. In vain he appealed to the temperance lodges to make the Bee their mouth-piece and thus hasten the coming of prohibition. A newspaper man needs to be broad minded; but we can find no trace of this characteristic in the editor of Napanee's first newspaper. Shortly before the demise of the Bee, a Mr. Youmans, who had for some time been tutoring the young Mohawks up on the Tyendinaga Reserve, was giving a series of concerts, consisting of "comic, sentimental and moral songs; dialogues, addresses, &c.", just the class of program we find in our Sunday Schools to-day. While accepting the advertisement Mr. Greenleaf felt it his duty to discourage this form of entertainment as likely to have an injurious effect upon the performers. In the same issue in which the advertisement appeared he commented editorially, "The Indian children, under Mr. Youmans, decidedly active, they are bright specimens from Nature's quarry and susceptible of receiving a high and useful Hence our fears. That friction which they are now having with a professedly civilized and Christian people cannot, we fear, result in any lasting good, either to themselves or those who hear them and see their theatrical exhibitions. Comic songs and grotesque illustrations contrast strangely with those of a sentimental and moral character, when mingled therewith. Those whose motto is:—'while we live let us live', may see nothing wrong in comic songs or comic exhibitions; but with those whose motto is, 'in the midst of life we are in death', a distinction between that which exalts and that which debases man is ever discernable in the commonest occurences of life."

This is a fair sample of his puritanical views, and yet he saw nothing ridiculous in his narrow mindedness and wondered why his paper was not popular. The wonder is that it prolonged its life as long as it did. The Bee ceased to buzz before it had completed its second volume.

### THE EMPORIUM

Not content with his experience with the Bee, Mr. Greenleaf concluded to make another trial at the newspaper business. He chose a more pretentious name, "The Emporium", for his new venture and took in a new partner, Mr. C. Lowry; but neither the new name nor the new partner could overcome the prejudice against editor's methods. He could not understand why the general public should not take as deep an interest in temperance movement as he did and was annoyed to find that even the enthusiastic temperance advocates were not satisfied to accept dissertations upon temperance instead of The Emporium made its first appearance a few weeks after the Bee had suspended publication, but it was doomed to meet the same fate, and after a few issues, it The editor quite disgusted with also was discontinued. the poor taste of the citizens of Napanee and the surrounding country made no further efforts to reclaim them from the slough, ignorance and depravity in which, in his opinion, they had fallen in spite of his fatherly advice and good example.

# THE INDEX

Newburgh was not to be outdone by Napanee in the newspaper line. In the month of January, 1853, there issued from the back shop of a drug store in the ambitious village the first number of the Index. It changed hands several times and continued to make its weekly appearance for nearly ten years. From a perusal of the few copies I have been able to unearth the wonder is that it lived as long as it did. In the first place one is struck with the utter absence of local news. This department is overdone in the local press of to-day which seriously chronicles the fact that Mrs. Jones called upon Mrs. Smith on Sunday afternoon, as though such an event could possibly be of public interest. The Index went to the other extreme and gave absolutely no information concerning the happenings in the village or any part of the county. The editorials were rare, and in vain have I searched for one worth reproducing. What did it contain? Methinks I hear the reader ask. In the first place there was the inevitable poem, at least, it was published under the heading "Poetry". Some of these were copied from other publications; but many of them were composed for the Index. A bard from Colebrook writing over the name "Experior". was a frequent contributor. In one of his lighter veins he inflicted a dozen stanzas upon the readers of the Index in the issue of May 2nd, 1855. The first three will serve our purpose as samples :-

'Tis obvious it would not do
If mankind had no whiskers,
For there's the fop and dandy, too,
They could not then exist, sir.

Moreover in this hairy age, When shaving is a crime, sir, There's many a serious minded sage, Is not behind the time, sir.

He wears whiskers 'cause they're warm, The dandy wears moustaches, Because they dignify his form And beautify his dashes.

The following, incredible as it may appear, is from the same pen:—

Beyond death's cold and chilling flood There is a heavenly land of rest, Where followers of the living God Repose upon their Saviour's breast, No waves of trouble ever roll O'er the serene and peaceful shore, And those who reach this heavenly goal Rejoice to sigh and weep no more.

After the never failing poem came the serial, short stories and boiler plate anecdotes that still prevail in most of our local papers, and which under no conditions could be treated as news. The second page was given over to extracts from other papers, editorials, if any, and correspondence. The third page was devoted almost exclusively to advertisements. In this respect the Index showed considerable enterprise, as twelve columns out of the twenty-eight were advertising matter, many of them from business houses across the border. The scissors were freely used in securing material for such portions of the last page as were not filled with patent medicine advertisements, and the man wielding them does not appear to have been governed by any general rule in making his clippings. Anything and everything to fill up the spacepoetry, sermons, parliamentary proceedings, it mattered not.

Thus, week after week, the same program was pursued and long suffering subscribers endured it nearly ten years. The editor occasionally woke up to snap back at the Standard or Reformer for poking fun at "Rogues Hollow", as Newburgh was called sixty years ago.

# THE NAPANEE STANDARD

The Napanee Standard was founded in 1854 by a number of citizens of Napanee prominent among whom were Allan MacPherson, Robert Esson, B. C. Davy They all took a deep interest Alexander Campbell. the village and felt it should have a newspaper of its own. It was the first newspaper worthy of the name published in the county, and from the beginning it took its place among the best papers of the day. The editor took his stand upon public questions and, while it was at first recognized as a Conservative organ, he did not hesitate to withhold its support, when it was to the interest of the community to do so. This was very clearly manifested in the general election of 1863 when Augustus Hooper and Sir Richard Cartwright were the respective candidates. For many years one absorbing local issue in Napanee had been the separation of the Counties of Lennox and Addington from the United Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington. Because Hooper had in 1860, while Warden of the United Counties, used his influence against the movement, the Standard, at a time when he was sorely in need of its support, chose to withhold it. For years it fought all comers who opposed separation. Many obstacles had to be overcome and powerful influences had to be met. Arrayed against the proposal were such stalwarts as John A. Macdonald, Henry Smith and Benjamin Seymour, and of course the united influence of the City of Kingston and the County of Frontenac. The Governor-in-Council had power by proclamation to effect a separation, if he deemed the circumstances such as to call for a separate establishment of courts and other County institutions; but only after a majority of the Reeves and Deputy Reeves of the junior County had in the month of February for two successive years passed a resolution affirming the expediency of separation and in the month of February of the following year did transmit to the Governor a petition asking that separation be granted. Before its final consummation the battle was waged for ten years. Resolutions were passed and petitions were presented; but the opponents of separation always found some means of thwarting the will of the people. In 1860 the Standard entered the arena with a determination to see that justice was done to Lennox and Addington. The following extracts from the editorials illustrate the ability displayed in that contest.

The issue of March 29th, 1860, contained the following: "The separation of the Counties of Lennox and Addington from the County of Frontenac has been the subject of much discussion within these Counties for some time past; and

as the subject is of not less importance to us, as a community now, than when it was first introduced for debate, we assume the responsibility of referring to it again."

"It is no great secret in these parts that a petition is now safely before the House of Assembly, signed by a majority of the Municipalities of Lennox and Addington, praying that the separation in question be granted; and, which is in agreement with the expressed wishes of about two thousand of the inhabitants of the Counties of Lennox and Addington and furnished, as evidence of the prevailing desire of the people for the separation, to the House of Assembly two years ago, and it would be an insult to the common sense of the thinking portion of the Counties, to say that their views have since changed, notwithstanding the vacillation of any aspiring gentleman, or the tenacity for petty office honors of any, whose independence cannot rise above the love of a municipal election.

"The objections that have been urged against separation have been of the most flimsy nature, characteristic of pure selfishness from its beginning and running through all subsequent discussion, a principle most destructive to all future progressiveness, in any branch of local or public enterprise. It is a sad day for the weal of the public, that so little independence of mind is obtained among public men, even from the lowest municipal office to the legislature of the country, that sacrifice of local and public interests are made, in order to the accumulation of political capital. Because one man aspires after Legislature distinction; and another after the petty office of municipal councillor, interests of thousands must be sacrificed. This surely is a feature in our political economy not very complimentary to the intelligence and moral integrity of the nineteenth century."

"The strategems of political jobbers have become so notorious that the public eye is becoming brightened, so as the more efficiently to watch the manoeuvres of those, by whose hands are played the game of political trickery; and let not him, whose cunning may be thought to screen him from being detected in his complicity, dream that the day of retribution will never come; for, as sure as every effect has its cause, so sure, will 'one's sins find him out' though the day of revelation may be somewhat tardy in its approaches; and then will he smart for his duplicity."

"The double game, which is generally supposed, by parties who watched the progress of Legislature on the separation bill, when in a recent session it passed through the Lower House, only to be rejected by the Lords of the Upper House, is not yet effaced from their memories and a no less vigilance will mark the same parties, during the

present session; however, we trust to witness an honest and successful disposition of this increasingly vexatious question."

"It is patent to every one that has taken the pains to ascertain the good sense of the community affected therein, that a large majority of the inhabitants of the Counties of Lennox and Addington, are ripe for the separation and are only hindered in effecting their scheme, by the predominant selfishness of a faction, who, up to the present, have possessed strategy sufficient to thwart the purposes and designs of the majority; thus retarding the progress of justice and inflicting serious injury upon others, who from some technicality of prescribed form, have been rendered powerless to obtain their rights."

"What was it but the selfishness of a local faction, in and about the obscure village of Newburgh, that prompted their hostility against a joint separation with the County of Lennox, while they used every plea for a separate disunion from both the Counties of Frontenac and Lennox? A more manifest injustice against a sister county could not easily have been projected. And what could have been the outside influence brought against the bill in the Upper House, but the political presence of certain members connected with the representation of Frontenac and the city of Kingston; to say nothing of the moiety of the back water current, occasioned by the dread of accumulated taxes upon a few acres of land within the Counties owned by the Hon. Mr. Seymour, whose obtuseness prevented the vision of increased valuation to real estate, far eclipsing the consideration of increased taxation?"

"Thus far we have merely been giving ventilation to the opposing influences; shewing the predominant and only motive for opposition is selfishness, we now turn our attention to consider some of the arguments in favor of separation and demanding it."

"If we are not in error there is no county or union of counties that has an equal extent of territory with our United Counties. The Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington embrace an area of 1,335,640 acres of land, of which 1200324 acres were returned as assessed in 1859. And in the separation Frontenac, in this respect, cannot complain, for she will still have 858940 acres as forming her County, nearly double the amount of Lennox and Addington together. We argue then, the necessity of a separation from the oversize of the United Counties, necessarily causing many miles distance from the County Town to a large portion of the inhabitants and especially as the County Town is not centrally located, being at one side, namely, in the County of Frontenac, probably about

sixty miles distant from the remotest municipality. bring parties interested in the County Courts and Assizos from so great a distance six times a year and probably an average loss of time each occasion of two weeks, and those interested in the County Councils as many times more, is a consequence of very serious moment, involving sacrifice of time, means and comfort, which is oppressively felt and complained against; yet, hitherto, without any relief. The grievance complained of, in this respect is rendered doubly grievous in the fact that the greater portion of the time thus consumed is occupied by the business of the County Town, incurring serious sacrifices upon those who are not in any way connected therewith. And again, a very disproportional amount of the current County expenses, is borne by the County of Frontenac and the City of Kingston and especially in view of the incontrovertible fact that the larger amount of the expenses is incurred by that portion of the County contiguous to the County Town and which has to be paid in a disproportionate ratio by the inhabitants of the Counties of Lennox and Addington, a fact which renders separation imperative in order that Lennox and Addington may be relieved from oppressiveness so cruel and burdensome."

"In the name of common sense, we ask, where is the justice in compelling the inhabitants of Lennox and Addington, who probably are not interested in over one-fifth of the business of the whole County, to be taxed with three-fifths of the county expenses? In the face of truths like these, and facts are stubborn things, how can any enlightened Legislative body deny to Lennox and Addington a separation?"

"It is, indeed, very fine for the people of the city of Kingston and the County of Frontenac, to have the establishment of a County Town perpetuated among them at the expense of Lennox and Addington Counties that have but little participation in their operations, only as they are called upon to hand over their means to give respectability to those who blush not in perpetuating this grievous burden."

"From this state of things as they exist, it is now readily understood how selfishness is chargeable against all opposers of this movement."

"If the Hon's. John A. Macdonald, A. Campbell and Henry Smith be found opposing our scheme, it is enough to say that each of them hails from the city of Kingston and are the representatives of that city and contiguous country."

"If any portion of Addington be found in the opposition, it is enough to say that the rising town of Napanee threatens rivalry with their obscure Newburgh, in aspiration for County Town. And let it not be forgotten, so as to put our sister Addington in a fair light, before the Legislature and the public, in order that the motive of any opposition may appear undisguised, that Addington, even Addington, the amiable Addington took the initiatory, in her three annual Municipal votes for a separation both from the Counties of Frontenac and Lennox, she being the intervening county and put in her application before the Governor General for said separation, which was very wisely refused by His Excellency; and now as a political job, she desires to take back her separation application, until a more favorable time turns up for the honor of having the County Town."

"We say, and have said all along, give us the separation, and let the location of the County Town be an after consideration and submitted to the decision of the reeves."

"In conclusion, we may remark, that our chief hope is in the independence and indomitable perseverance of our faithful and independent member, Mr. Roblin, whose powerful influence has been so much felt in support of men and measures, which have received the approbation of our enlightened county."

"We trust that Mr. Roblin will shew no less zeal and force, in pushing this measure through its various stages of legislation until the sanction of the Governor-General proclaims it law. We think that Mr. Roblin has undeniable claims upon the Ministry, who have received so much of his able support for a return of Legislative influence, which is not only due to Mr. Roblin, but demanded by the oppressed yeomanry of Lennox and Addington. Parliament was never convoked for merely local and personal aggrandizement; but for the general welfare of the people interested in Legislative enactment. Hence upon public grounds, the rights of the people, we claim the passage of the Bill."

Thus did the Standard Iong before separation was effected state its case and, for upwards of three years, in season and out of season, it kept the question prominently before the public, met all arguments advanced against its position and no matter what the political effect was, no matter what friends or enemies were made, it never swerved from the terms of that manly editorial. Such a clear and convincing statement of the case for separation could not fail to attract the attention of those opposed to the movement, and the Whig was the first to comment upon it. To answer the arguments of the Standard it could not. The only course open to it was to challenge the statement of facts, which it did by alleging that the

United Council had petitioned against separation and that all the reeves and deputy-reeves of Addington and one reeve of Lennox had joined in a similar petition. To facilitate the movement Mr. David Roblin, the member of the Legislative Assembly for Lennox and Addington, had prepared a special Bill and brought it before the House. After the Bill had been introduced it is quite true that its opponents had succeeded in securing such petitions against it, but the Whig was in error when it stated that all the reeves and deputy-reeves of Addington had joined in the counter petition. These petitions, however, in no way wiped out the arguments for separation and in the next issue of the Standard the attempt of the Whig to evade the real issue was disposed of as follows:—

"The whole machinery at work effecting the sham movements among the Addingtonians is apparent to the most superficial observer. The vain expectancy of political influence affecting the future locality of the County Town is developing a duplicity which for the credit of Addington we lament. It is as patent as that two and two make four, that the majority of Addington is ripe for separation and the only obstacle in the way of their co-operation, officially, with Lennox is the County Town question. Indeed, it is very difficult to please those locality servers, and when the just principle of settling the point at issue, is so liberally proposed in the Bill now before Parliament one would hardly have thought that it could have been rejected; yet, so it is for they are unwilling even to let the people decide where the most eligible location is. faction whose manoeuvres have given existence to the petition in question, would not, apparently be satisfied unless the Bill provides that the aspiring village of Newburgh be made the County Town, although a large majority of the inhabitants of Lennox and Addington might say otherwise. As far as our judgment is concerned in the matter, it is very doubtful what locality the voice of the people would say shall be the honored one, and in it, Lennox runs as much risk as does Addington; yet we are willing to leave the matter in the hands of the people, because the principle is fair and just, and we are sorry to say that the same generous, open, liberal and unselfish feelings do not characterize the Addington local faction. We will take a step farther in the scale of anti-selfishness and say that the interests of Lennox and Addington, as a separate county, are so paramount that we would advocate the separation, though the Bill provided that even Newburgh should be the County Town. We ask, will Addington evince such liberality? The faction say No! We will not even leave it to the people whose interests

ought to be considered in the settlement."

"We trust that our legislators will take an enlarged view of the matter and not permit the subterfuge of a few interested jobbers to bias them to the favoritism of any party. We ask, in this matter, for no private local favors. All that we ask is that justice be done to Lennox and Addington, an aggrieved and burdened portion of the United Counties as they now exist, with the County Town at one corner of the Counties, the expenses of which establishment are so disproportionately borne by Lennox and Addington without any adequate benefit arising therefrom."

"And touching the composition of the petition itself, it need scarcely be repeated that they do not represent the feelings of the people on this question, but that it is got up for a party purpose. The petition itself can have very little, if any, weight with the members of Parliament excepting with a few who are personally interested in the matter, as a neutralizing element had preceded it in the petition of a majority of the municipalities of the Counties of Lennox and Addington, praying for the separation, which petition, unquestionably, represents the sentiments of the people and whose voice doubtless will be heard."

The Standard also accused the editor of the Whig of stating an untruth when he said in his editorial "All the reeves and deputy reeves of Addington, together with one of the few reeves of Lennox united in a separate petition." This was an incorrect statement and admitted by the Whig to be so; but it claimed that it had corrected the error by publishing the proceedings of the council in its next This could hardly be treated as a correction of a statement of fact in the editorial in question and the Standard stood by its gun and insisted upon it that the editor had not only stated what was not true, but was guilty of another similar offence by claiming that he had corrected his error. This was too much for the Whig. Under the heading "A One-horse Newspaper", he administered what he evidently believed to be a very severe castigation to the editor of the Standard and seemed quite pleased with the manner in which he had done it. The editor of the Standard took full advantage of his opponent's display of bad taste and an unruly temper in the following clever editorial.

"As we have a few moments to spare, perhaps we cannot employ them to the amusement of our readers better than in the way of acknowledging the courtesy of the venerable \*Doctor of the Whig."

<sup>\*</sup> The Editor of the Whig at this time was Dr. Edward John Rarker, grandfather of his successor, the late Mr. E. J. B. Pense.

"And since the splenetic Doctor has shown such symptoms of feverish excitement, threatening a derangement of the cerebrum, which may be alarming to his friends, we will proceed cautiously to the analysis of the causes of this temporary aberration and offer these prescriptions and suggestions which we hope may lead to his speedy convalescence."

"In the first place, the venerable Doctor, in the manifestation of the over zeal for the local interests of the city of Kingston touching the County separation question, allowed himself to falsify the doings of the County Council in the premises by stating that all the reeves and deputy-reeves of Addington had petitioned against the separation."

"In our issue of the 5th instant we directed the attention of the Whig to his incorrect statement, which, of course, was calculated to damage the separation interests and intimated the probability of the Doctor's correcting it, for we were jealous for our own side of the question, and desirous that the truth should appear so that no false capital might thus be formed against us. Instead of correcting the error as ought to have been expected, the Doctor betrayed a haughtiness peculiar to the profession of quackery and denouncing us as impertinent, demanded to know wherein the falsified statement existed. In our next issue following, we quoted the objectionable paragraph, and asked the amiable Whig to correct it, and in reply we have the Doctor 'busted up'—the richest feature in the whole a complete coup de grace—a diminishing stroke. is, just as it came hissing and spitting and sissing and boiling from the over-heated cranium of the splenetic Doctor."

"A ONE-HORSE NEWSPAPER.—Nothing is more vexing to a journalist than to be annoyed by the rudeness of the one-horse press. These creatures of paste and scissors know they can be impertinent with impunity, trusting to their utter insignificance. On the day the County Council adjourned, believing that all the Reeves and Deputy-Reeves of Addington had signed the petition against separation, it was so stated by us; whereas in fact, all but one had signed it. The next day this error was corrected by the publication of the proceedings of the Council, taken from the minutes. This error, a miserable seven by nine sheet, published at Napanee, has seized hold of and with an impertinent rudeness, natural in its condition, reiterates the cry of 'false', 'falsehood', 'false statement', etc. There is but one way to get rid of such annoyances."

"This perfect gem of literary taste and exquisite decorum, demands a little attention at our hands."

"We, all along, maintained our good nature with the Doctor and when this last precious exhibition came to hand, our risible propensities had a good opportunity of development. Throughout we endeavored to maintain a proper respect for the age and position of our venerable co-temporary—The Father of the Press; but if we have now lowered a degee or two in scale of editorial etiquette, the Doctor, himself, must be held responsible; for when we have stuffed haughtiness to deal with—a real six-horse power—we must square our action accordingly, lest the Doctor be wanting in appreciation of our 'One Horse Seven-by-nine''

"The propensity of the Whig for fibbing and sticking to it, is unmistakably developed throughout the entire melee and, in this his last precious demolisher, he clings tenaciously to it, showing how closely it is allied with his moral constitution."

"He now states that all the reeves and deputy-reeves of Addington, but one, had signed the petition to which so much notoriety is given. This is not the case if Mr. Wm. H. Gordanier belongs to that body of officials; and why could not the Doctor own the corn at once, after he found himself exposed, and not wait for further ventilation of his fibbing tendencies. Again, to make some covering to his retreat and to hide his moral delinquencies, he states that on the next day the error was corrected, and, until he shall show up to the letter that such was the case, we shall hold him responsible for fib No. 2 in the matter. Alas, poor Doctor, thy hoary head is coming down dishonored, and be sure that thy sins will find thee out."

"Now, as to the Doctor's characteristic compliments to ourselves and paper, we cannot but smile it off as quite a good attempt in its way, but rather an unfortunate opening to his whereabouts and associated contingencies. We shall let the good sense of a respectable and increasing list of intelligent subscribers to the Standard bear its own testimony of appreciation of the 'One Horse Seven-by-nine.' This is our thirteenth number, and without effort, we have about 150 new subscribers, principally volunteers, and the over-abundant original matter refutes the slander of 'paste and scissors', an insinuation, the responsibility of which. no paper in the Province, of which we have knowledge, is less prepared to assume than is the veritable Whig itself, a starved abortion in the newspaper circle of Canada, living upon the quack advertisements with which the country is so abundantly flooded. The egregious gormandizer of the Whig, in order to cater for the Whig family. sallies out on his annual puffing walks, thus eliciting the sympathies of those by whose compassion it is permitted to subsist, and when his local perambulations are over we hear of his country strides, and village puffing, and all, to secure the same desirable object; and it may be, aught we know,

the railway and steamboat companies are bored out of dead-head passes, so as to give greater velocity to the Doctor's flight for pottage. Now, Dear Whig, take from the entire amount of the real originals gracing your columns these sketches of walks, trips, puffs, together with the book and exchange notices and what have you left to feast your readers upon, besides 'paste and scissors' and quack advertisements? Well, Doctor, this appears really too bad, you have a little more, we think, than you bargained for, but no one is to blame but yourself. Learn to be civil in your old days and assume not the haughtiness of the frog who never became an ox because of his failing to discover the philosophy of expansion.'

"We fear the Doctor may have been driven to this frenzy, in view of the said consequences to his voracious stomach, in the event of Lennox and Addington's separation, seeing, in it, a probable diminution of provender; which reminds us of an anecdote we lately heard of a California adventurer, who upon turning up an unfortunate card, found himself embedded in the diggings, with his craving stomach now and anon, giving notice of being five meals behind hand."

"At a prospect like this, the Doctor, doubtless, would shudder; hence his demolisher at our heads. We take our leave, for the present of our friend, by remarking that we have much less consideration shown to us by him than even the Pope showed to his intractable son, Emanuel, to whom he gave some notification, before his final excommunication; for the Doctor's blow was nearly before the word. He closes by saying 'there is but one way to get rid of such annoyances' and that way seeming more practicable than any other, was our excommunication, which was as promptly done as said, for we are cut off from the usual exchange."

"We have hopes of surviving this calamity and the Doctor, probably, may have an opportunity of testing his remedy."

In this verbal altercation one does not need to seek far to learn which contestant got the better of the exchange of compliments. As usual, the man who loses his temper, loses also the respect of his readers, and leaves himself open to the jibes of his opponent. The Standard took full advantage of the opportunity and gave a further illustration in the same issue of his coolness and good sense when confronted with a reverse. After he had penned his reply to the Whig's ill-timed comments, word was received that the Roblin Bill was defeated. He met the unwelcome news with this brief editorial:—

## "SEPARATION LOST."

"We give it up. When the powers that be, say No, we must succumb, until we gather strength to renew our suit."

"The News can afford to be jubilant in the turn the Bill has taken and we shall still maintain our good nature and jog along as if all were right, looking forward to a future day when enlarged views will obtain and personal aggrandizement will give place to general interests."

In the next issue appeared an extract from an article contributed to the Spectator by its Quebec correspondent, which tells the story of the fight put up for the county by its member Mr. David Roblin. "I found the committee in question (Private Bills) hard at work and Mr. Roblin on one side of the chairman and the Hon. J. A. Macdonald and the Speaker on the other. They were quarreling with a vengeance and this is the occasion of the strife." then briefly outlines the issue and continues: "Mr. Roblin, the member for Lennox and Addington, has this year brought in, for the third time, a bill to this effect which is of course strongly opposed by all the influence Kingston can bear through Mr. Macdonald the member for the city, Mr. Speaker Smith member for Frontenac, and Mr. Campbell member for Cataragui division. In the committee therefore these three set upon poor Roblin, who fought, I must say, manfully and brought in one or two members to his aid. But the legal and tactical skill of his opponents was too much for him and although what the preamble of the Bill states 'a majority of the Councillors of the United Counties have petitioned for joint separation' is unques tionably the fact, the majority of the committee was brought to disbelieve its own senses and reported 'preamble not proved'. Mr. Roblin is raging mad and intends to move to-morrow, that the committee be instructed to report the evidence on which they came to their conclusion.'

The Whig came to the rescue of its member and his associates who had strangled the Roblin Bill in the committee:—

"The correspondent of the Spectator does not tell all the truth, he omits the fact that Addington does not now want separation, though it did two years ago; that all the Reeves and Deputy-Reeves of Lennox and Addington, save one, petitioned against separation; and that owing to the large settlement in rear of the Counties, the separation when it does take place, must be North and South not East and West. 'A little knowledge is a dangerous thing."

The venerable editor of the Whig was somewhat slow in

learning his lesson and the Standard was quick in bringing him again to task as it did in the following snappy editorial.

"The incorrigible Whig is at it again. Surely, 'a little dishonesty is a dangerous thing'. When one undertakes to correct another he should be careful that he is correct himself. But the fibbing propensity is so effectually developed in the venerable Doctor, that the kind reader must make some allowance for the shortness of his memory, as continued habit assumes the form of a necessity; such is the danger of a little dishonesty."

"Instead of the Doctor's improving upon the castigation lately given him by us, he has gone farther and farther astray; and in hopes, though faint, that he may be awakened to see his folly before he goes hence, we beg to remind him that he is grossly at fault in stating that 'all the Reeves and Deputy-Reeves of Lennox and Addington, save one, petitioned against separation". A man that has any remaining sense of honor, character or reputation, ought to consider well the facts of the case which he publishes to the world and be sure that figures cannot be produced in refutation of his statements. It is enough simply for us to declare that the Doctor's statement is far from being the truth and the correction will be at his door."

"We would like that the Dr. give to the public something more tangible than his word and that miserable party petition which he quacks so much about that Addington does not want separation. Does he not know that it is as patent as the glasses on his nose, that Addington is only prevented in their official action towards separation by the artful dodge of a political aspirant and a clique of locality servers, in and around the village of Newburgh?"

"If impatience be at any time, justifiable, we think that it is we and not the splenetic Doctor, should feel annoyed in view of the trickery, dodges and falsifying in vogue, for the promotion of self interests at the sacrifice of principle and general interests."

"We would like to see the one idea of the Doctor illustrated by diagram, for the information of those for whom he writes, and we recommend the Doctor to describe his East and West line of division, for it is not intelligible to us, the form his creative genius may give to the proposed county. On the whole it is plain to be seen 'that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing."

"We wonder how the Doctor likes his remedy!"

As intimated in the quotation given from the Spectator Mr. Roblin did give notice to refer the report upon separation back to the Private Bills Committee; but the session was too far advanced for him to accomplish anything towards the desired end; so he contented himself just before prorogation with making a speech in which he exposed the motives underlying the opposition to the bill. The following is from the Standard's Quebec correspondent's comments upon Mr. Roblin's speech:—

"The amount collected in the United Counties for County purposes was in 1859 \$23880 of which was paid by

> Lennox \$5292) \$14388 Addington \$9096) \$14388

Frontenac at the last census had 19150 inhabitants; Addington 15155; Lennox 7955; thus these Counties paid per head:—

> Frontenac  $\$0.49\frac{1}{2}$ Addington  $\$0.59\frac{3}{4}$ Lennox \$0.65

"Taking Lennox and Addington together, they paid \$0.62½ per head. All this while the city of Kingston paid \$1200 to the counties, with a population of 11399 or about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  cents per head. No wonder, then, said Mr. Roblin that extraordinary means are used to prevent separation. Lawyers stepped in to take advantage of their neighbors' differences—they took the oyster for themselves, giving a shelf each to Lennox and Addington (hear and laughter)".

The Standard did not whine over the defeat of separation and made little reference to the question again during the year 1860. It had by no means given up the fight but merely bided its time. In its editorials it adopted the wholesome practice of enunciating a general doctrine and getting the reader to subscribe to it, then applying it to the case in hand. Naturally the Standard would support Mr. Augustus Hooper in political matters, but it very skillfully prepared the way for a break with him, in case he presented himself as a candidate for parliamentary honors and in so doing illustrated the practice to which I refer. Where could you find more convincing arguments or a more wholesome doctrine than in the following extracts from an editorial of June 7th, 1860.

"Public men are public property and when men aspiring for public position assume to be, ex officio, secured from the criticism of the public, they claim to themselves an exclusiveness which the world is in no wise prepared to yield."

"If the public men from a sense of delicacy refuse to canvas the merits of the claims of office seekers, wherein is involved the public weal, a very sad delinquency is betrayed and an injury may be thus inflicted which can only by much patient endurance and vigorous effort, be counteracted. This is a regimen through which all public men are liable

to pass and many have to submit to the rigid scrutiny whether it be congenial to their sensitiveness or not and the man who is not prepared for the like process, had better forego the anticipated honors of public life."

"In the various departments of public life is this applicable but perhaps in no department is it more so than in the political sense."

Having carried the reader with him thus far the editor proceeds to explain the folly of Mr. Hooper in taking offence at the criticisms passed upon him by the Standard in respect to his opposition to separation.

"The position which we assumed in the late discussion of the county separation question brought us in contact with the late action of Mr. Hooper therein; and if we thought our position was the correct one, why, of course, we would not approve of the course adopted by Mr. Hooper, to whom we look as the chief instrument in the defeat of the bill and for which he himself may yet have cause to regret.——We think every man ought to have fair play and upon this principle we wish to act."

"We take this opportunity of saying that upon political grounds we have not been influenced in this controversy. We profess very little political feeling and whether Mr. Hooper be of the old Conservative school, or a Coalitionist or a Reformer of the Baldwin school it is no matter of ours; he has just as good a right to political bias as ourselves or anyone else and upon these premises he has no opposition from us; the opposition, if any, was upon local grounds—county interests."

In the issue of April 11th, 1861, the Standard again summarizes the arguments in favor of separation, but avoids all direct reference to the vexed question of the County Town and touches very gingerly upon the local jealousies that defeated the Roblin Bill. Its policy was to get the municipalities committed to separation first and settle the question of the County Town afterwards. a recent Act of Parliament Lennox and Addington had been incorporated as one County, but the union with Frontenac still existed. The question of separation was again to the fore and the indications pointed towards it being before the ratepayers at an early date. Although a plebiscite was not necessary; yet it was advocated as a means of strengthening the hands of the petitioners for separation. It was through no fault of the Standard if the electors of this county did not fully understand the merits of the case. It again summarized the case as follows,—"The question heretofore seems to have been imperfectly understood and crudely considered, whether arising from the misrepresentations of interested parties or from the foolish jealousy formerly existing between different parts of the county, or it may be from the facts of the case not being placed before the people in a clear and intelligible shape. quite clear that for many years the people of this county have been deprived of privileges enjoyed and freely granted to many counties in the Province less wealthy, smaller and more thinly settled, viz., of having justice administered to them at some convenient central place within their own limits; this is our simple right, and one which ought to have been conceded long ago, agreeable to the wants and requirements of our extensive territory and large increasing population. Instead of which we are wasting more and more of our time and money every year for the We think it can be conclusively demonstrated want of it. to the dullest apprehension that the loss and expense to the inhabitants of this county caused by having their County Town forty miles from the average residences of the people, quite equal to the utmost expense, if separated to-morrow and Frontenac was presented with the whole of our joint property."

"But there are other considerations; Frontenac has about the same number of inhabitants that we have, with larger territory and an equal number of reeves; yet in the payment of expenses and taxes, we have to pay three dollars to their two and within the last ten years have actually deposited in the treasury at the city of Kingston thirty thousand dollars more than the County of Frontenac. There is some debt existing against the United Counties, of which we are paying three-fifths and will continue to do so, besides in the end are likely (if all is even paid) to be turned out when the separation does come (as it is only a question of time) with naked hands, yielding the county's buildings and other improvements to the Frontenac people, having paid three-fifths of all their cost and after that, at our own expense, putting up our own buildings. By separation now we can take such portion of the county's debt as we ought to pay, if any, and assume it at once, reserving our extra money which we have been so long paying to Frontenac to scatter in their new and poor townships and build our own county buildings with it; the surplus money in eight years will do it all, if we assume half the county's debt and make them over the whole of the present extravagant county buildings at Kingston, without putting on one penny of extra tax on the inhabitants of the county."

"In the event of a separation, our expenses would on almost every point be reduced, the principal outlay would be the county buildings and those may be erected at a moderate cost, say three or four thousand pounds, if use and not show was the object sought; the whole cost of which would be more than saved by the county at large in a single year. The salaries of the Judge, Sheriff and other officers of the court are paid by fees, so that there would be no additional cost on that head."

"The benefit of having our county business transacted at home among ourselves must be obvious to all. In every well regulated community periodical Courts of Justice are a necessity and it does not require the most discriminating persons to see that Courts held in some central locality in our own county, when jurors, witnesses and suitors would be released in four days at most at any one time, is quite preferable to travelling from twenty-five to ninety miles to the city of Kingston and be detained there from two to three weeks and until fifty cases have been decided, not ten of which properly belong to us. Consequently, while the expenditure in separating the counties can be defrayed once and for all for the moderate sum of three or four thousand pounds, we are wasting much more than that every year we continue united."

"The principle of separation has been frequently admitted and declared by both Lennox and Addington while they were separate counties and that the question has only been retarded by local jealousies, which have heretofore existed, groundless as they have been, to some considerable extent. We trust, however, that hereafter all petty local feelings on the subject will be avoided and that the question will be viewed, discussed and decided upon its merits, only as affecting the whole county."

For the balance of the year of 1861 the Standard was silent on its favorite subject. A general election was held in July. The candidates who presented themselves at the opening of the campaign were John Stevenson, Augustus Hooper and David Roblin. Just before nomination Mr. Stevenson withdrew from the contest leaving the field to Hooper and Roblin. We expected to find the Standard opposing Hooper owing to his having opposed separation, but it managed to maintain a strictly independent position and gave no support to either candidate. The editor probably concluded that it would be unwise to mix separation and politics. He saw the futility of dividing the county on party lines upon a question which should be supported by everyone in the county, in order to present a solid front against the opposing forces in Frontenac and As Hooper was elected by a large majority the wisdom of the policy of the Standard is quite manifest. The question was not revived in the press until the issue of August 28th, 1862, when the leading editorial showed that the long continued silence of the writer was not to

be mistaken for indifference. He evidently had been chafing for months biding his time to strike. As was his custom he approached the question very gently saying among other

things :-

"Our county is not far behind the best and most enterprising in this fair land, but it must not be forgotten that there are difficulties which must be removed ere we can fully enjoy the advantage of the facilities afforded it for improvement."

"Look at our county geographically, or statistically, look at it in the length of time it has been settled, or in the wealth and intelligence of the inhabitants, or in what view you please and compare it with other counties possessing all the privileges and advantages of independent counties and tell us, does it suffer in comparison with them? We think not." He concludes his able editorial with a strong series of arguments not heretofore advanced by him. In its efforts to arouse the people of the county to the necessity and importance of separation the Standard certainly displayed great tact and enterprise.

"We must have our county set off from Frontenac. We should be no longer compelled to feed the latter with our business as we must do, so long as we remain in our present situation."

"The effect of remaining as we now are is, that are stultified in our own estimation, as well as in the estimation of others. Indeed, it appears that the Kingstonians are disposed almost to ignore our existence but as a sort of trifling to their great county. Notwithstanding a very large export and import business done both at our port and railroad depot, some of the newspapers of our indulgent mother city would have our port closed, as a regular port of entry and would have us trudge to Kingston to do our excise duty, as well as to attend court and do other necessary business. The truth is, although we are equally important and wealthy with them, they have come to the conclusion that we think little of ourselves and as a consequence they can use us To stand up firmly for our position-to as they see fit. ask for a separate existence and have it, is our plain duty and must be done before Lennox and Addington can attain to that lofty position of which it is capable."

"To speak of the expense to which we would be driven in the erection of buildings, support of a full staff of county officials, etc., is to talk of refusing to take a step which, whatever may be the present cost, will remunerate before the county has time fully to organize. Remuneration will arise in many ways but the actual increase of value of property in the county alone will more than counterbalance all the expenditure which would be necessitated at the beginning of our separate existence. We go for secession and are pleased to know that the constitution does not deny it to us but has made provision for it."

"We trust that our citizens generally, and our municipalities in their corporate capacity, will take action in this matter and that we shall soon see Lennox and Addington in some chosen and favorably situated centre, adorned and beautified with such county buildings as may be deemed requisite."

"The honor due to our ancestors and the interests of this fine county demand it and we look soon to know that the enterprise of our people expressed in a legitimate way has secured it."

In 1863 the time was ripe for a renewal of the struggle before the Governor-in-Council. Thanks largely to the efforts of the Standard in keeping the question before the public and discouraging local differences over the site of the county town, all sections of the county had been brought to a realization of the fact that Lennox and Addington was sorely handicapped by the union with Frontenac. At a meeting of all the reeves and deputy reeves of the county held at Napanee on the 10th of February, 1863, a resolution in favor of again petitioning the Governor-in-Council, was carried unanimously, and the petition was forwarded accordingly.

After the presentation of the petition it was the duty of the Governor, if he deemed the circumstances such as to call for a separate establishment of courts and county institutions, to issue a proclamation constituting the reeves and deputy-reeves a provisional council and to appoint a time and place for the fist meeting of the council and to name one of its members as the presiding officer and to determine the place for and the name of the County Town. Weeks passed and no proclamation issued. The air was full of politics, the Government was tottering and the Governor's advisers doubtless thought they had important business to transact than to settle the little family quarrel that had arisen in the United Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington. Then there was the excuse that the County Town had not been agreed upon. The Governor could, if he saw fit to do so, name any place in the county; but he would naturally prefer to make a wise selection, and one that would meet with the approval of a majority of the inhabitants. No procedure was laid down by the statute for his guidance. To hasten the issuing of the proclamation a meeting of the reeves and deputy-reeves was again called to make a final effort to agree upon a County Town, Two new contestants,

Bath and Tamworth, had entered the field. Bath in its day had been the most important business centre in the county, and not many years had passed since it prided itself in being the commercial centre of Lennox and Addington. The merchants from all the other villages were wont to replenish their stocks from the well filled The village, however, had already warehouses at Bath. begun to live upon its past; which is now but a faint memory. Its courts, schools, shippards and commercial houses were once the objects of envy of the villages farther inland, but the building of the Grand Trunk Railway several miles distant had sounded the death knell of the old village. But the pride of the Bathites had not diminished and they still had hopes of regaining their lost prestige and had visions of a beautiful Court House overlooking the shores of the Bay of Quinte.

Tamworth had pretentions that were justified by its geographical position if we took no account of the character of the soil of the northern part of the county or the number of the inhabitants upon it. No one but a visionary enthusiast like Ebenezer Perry would have put forth such a claim. He was responsible for the active measures taken to introduce settlers into Denbigh and the neighboring townships, was the originator of the Addington Colonization Road still spoken of as the Perry Road, and had great hopes of some day seeing those northern districts converted into rich agricultural settlements. He was reeve of Sheffield at the time, and may be pardoned for having rather exaggerated views of the possibilities of his pet project.

After much wire pulling and canvassing of the situation from all points of view the representatives met in Napanee on April 16th. At this meeting the supporters of Bath concluded that their case was a hopeless one, and no resolution in favor of selecting their village was presented. Out of fifteen votes, Tamworth secured but five. Two of these were of course the reeve and deputy-reeve of Sheffield, one was the representative of the northern townships, and strange to say one representative from Camden and the reeve of Newburgh supported the motion. The motives of these last two are clearly discernable even at this late day. They did not vote according to their convictions or with the least expectation that Tamworth would be chosen. They knew it was impossible; but they hoped to catch the three northern votes when their resolution was put to the meeting. Newburgh's reeve felt that he could not at that meeting secure a majority of votes in favor of his village, so, instead of moving that Newburgh be chosen. he brought forward a resolution through the representative from Camden that the selection of the county seat be left to the vote of the people. His policy was to gain time in the hope that something might turn up to improve Newburgh's chances of securing a majority of the votes. The ruse, however, was not successful. The three northern representatives voted against this resolution and it was lost. Then the original motion that Napanee be chosen was put to the meeting and carried by a majority of three, the three northern men again refusing to be led into the trap laid for them by the reeve of Newburgh.

The Standard in commenting upon the proceedings at this meeting, after repeating the arguments in favor of separation, endeavored to pour oil upon the troubled waters. The article concluded with:—

"We have not paid much attention to the question of the chances of Napanee being the county seat, because we thought from the first that it was almost certain and did not wish to raise discussion, which could answer no good purpose. Our contemporary, the North American, has pursued the same course, as, till last week we have not noticed that he mentioned the matter. His reference to the subject last week is mild but characteristic of the village which he represents. There is a union of sentiment and action amongst our neighbors in Newburgh' and a willingness to make personal sacrifices for the good of their village which we might well emulate."

"But it is a question to us after all whether the Newburghers would like to have their village named as the head of this large and important county. Its inaccessibility alone would be a sufficient reason, if, when reached, it was equal in other respects to Napanee, to make the choice a very bad one."

"No doubt their good sense and desire for the general good will prevail over sectional considerations and bring them to co-operate in the establishment of the County Town where destiny appears to have fixed it."

"The resolutions of the reeves of the county passed on Saturday were duly forwarded to Mr. Hooper, our worthy member, with a request that he will urge the Government to act upon the measure with as little delay as possible. We hope that no counter-influence, or appearance of want of concert on the part of leading parties in the county, will prevent the consumation of an arrangement so vital to the interests of the county."

Mr. Hooper, the member, was thus called upon to play an entirely different role from that the Standard accused Mr. Hooper, the Warden, of playing three years before. We have no reason to doubt that he was true to his constituents and presented the petition and urged the Government to act upon it, although it must have gone somewhat against the grain to ask that Napanee be named as the County Town. He can hardly be held responsible for the delay, when we remember that three weeks later the Government was defeated upon a motion of want of confidence introduced by the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

The Standard in a very sensible editorial summed up the political crisis in few words and fore-shadowed Federation which followed three years later.

"We have never taken sides with or against the present Government. In many respects we thought them equal to their predecessors and have not changed our opinion. But either they or their too warm friends promised too much; more than they had energy to accomplish. The truth is, as we are situated in connection with Lower Canada, it is impossible to do much to mend matters. any Government you please, and as the Brown-Dorion a few years ago, and the Macdonald-Sicotte of the present day, promise as they may, they cannot do as they would. The elements are adverse and cannot coalesce. You never can make an Upper Canada Protestant constituency to be satisfied with the doings of its member, who must work in harmony with a Lower Canada Romanist. It is out of the question. Some arrangement must be entered into by which each section can manage its own local affairs and by which matters affecting the country as a whole, may be settled by a general representative body from all parts concerned."

"A Federation of the different parts of British North America is the only cure for the miserable state of things which exist."

The election which followed was a hot one. The candidates in Lennox and Addington were Augustus Hooper and R. J. Cartwright (Sir Richard). The Standard was not at all satisfied with Mr. Hooper's record in the House, particularly his absenting himself when the vote of want of confidence was taken. It is not at all probable either that the position he had taken on separation in 1860 had been fully erased from the memory of the editor. It accordingly supported Mr. Cartwright, with the result that the candidate of its choice was elected by a majority of 285.

During the long fight for separation there were many side issues of more or less importance of which the press appears to have taken little notice. Notably among these was the desire of Amherst Island to secede from Lennox and Addington in case separation was effected. The Island township was the only one not represented at the meeting in February when the resolution favoring separation was

unanimously adopted. A great deal can be said in favor of the position taken by the Islanders. Their business relations had always been more closely allied with Kingston than with any portion of Lennox and Addington. Kingston was nearer and more easily reached than any point in Lennox and Addington that was likely to be chosen as the County Town, and it was quite natural in the event of separation that they should desire to remain associated with that part of the United Counties with which they had been more intimately connected.

Another incident which may have had a tendency to delay matters was the somewhat stubborn attitude of the reeve of Newburgh after the meeting which fixed upon Napanee as the County Town. He was a man not easily moved when he had set his heart upon any particular object and he was evidently ill at ease over his failure to secure the votes of the northern townships with the aid of which he had hoped to carry the day. Instead of submitting to the inevitable and taking his defeat gracefully, he caused his village council to petition the Government to defer the question. Mr. Stevenson met this with a counter-petition executed on behalf of seven of the municipalities pointing out the many delays that had already taken place, and submitting that any further delay would be detrimental to the interests of all the localities involved.

Finally on the 21st day of August, 1863, the long wished for proclamation was issued and separation became an accomplished fact. John Stevenson was then named as the person to preside at the first meeting of the Provisional Council and Napanee was fixed as the County Town.

The Standard which had for years made separation the pre-eminent local issue and might well have taken to itself much of the credit for the victory, expressed its gratification with the result and concluded its announcement with:—

"With regard to the County Town, there can be but one opinion and that is, that the proper place has been selected. We trust that all local jealousies will now cease on this head and that the Provisional Council will enter upon their new duties in a proper spirit and with a view to the welfare of the whole county."

The timely advice in this editorial did not pass unheeded. On the 10th of September, the day named in the proclamation for the first meeting, the Provisional Council met and burying all former animosities proceeded at once to organize and get ready for business. Mr. Stevenson was elected Warden, and Mr. William V. Detlor Clerk. The

personel of this the first council was as follows:—J. J. Watson, of Adolphustown; J. McGinnis, Amherst Island; W. F. Peterson, Bath; S. Warner, Ernesttown, Reeve; C. Fraser, Deputy Reeve; D. Sills, South Fredericksburgh; M. Parks, North Fredericksburgh; J. N. Lapum, Camden, Reeve; G. Paul, Deputy Reeve; J. D. Ham, Newburgh; E. Perry, Sheffield, Reeve; J. Murphy, Deputy Reeve; C. R. Flint, Kaladar & Anglesea; J. Sexsmith, Richmond, Reeve; R. Denison, Deputy Reeve; J. Stevenson, Napanee.

It is quite possible that half a century has added something to the reputation of these men and that we give them credit for having been bigger men than they really Making all due allowance for an unconscious exaggeration of their merits we are forced to the conclusion that the standard of municipal representatives was higher sixty years ago than it is to-day. There are notable exceptions to-day where good business men are prevailed upon to accept nomination for municipal honors; but as a rule such men as Sidney Warner, John D. Ham, John Stevenson, J. J. Watson and Ebenezer Perry are rarely found sitting at the council table. The wonder is that our municipal affairs are not more muddled than they The one year term is largely responsible for the inefficiency in many cases. It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the affairs of all municipalities will be placed on a business basis and managed by a competent and well paid business manager. It was fortunate for our county that it started out upon its separate career under the guidance of such shrewd practical men. The erection of the county buildings was proceeded with at once by the building committee, composed of the Warden and Messrs. Warner, Sills, Denison, Perry, Ham, Lapum and Watson. They were completed at a minimum of cost, and stand to-day as a monument of the good taste of the builders. The affairs of the new municipality moved along smoothly, local jealousies were soon forgotten, and all worked together for the general welfare of the entire county.

The Standard content with its success did not gloat over its victory, but pursued the even tenor of its way and continued to grow in favor with its readers. From the very beginning it was a very creditable sheet, but there was a marked improvement when it passed into the Henry family in 1858. The three brothers, Thomas S., Alexander and Robert, were interested in it more or less from the time of the purchase until it ceased to exist in 1885. For many years Mr. Thomas W. Casey was on the staff, and was the author of the articles upon temperance. These were so numerous and well written that the Standard

became recognized as an authority upon all temperance questions by the different organizations in the province fighting the liquor traffic. It was quite natural therefore that when the Sons of Temperance concluded to publish an official organ, that Mr. Casey should be chosen as the editor, and that it should be printed upon the press of Henry & Bro., in the office of the Standard.

It was thus that the Casket first made its appearance in 1869, and for fourteen years was the official mouthpiece of the Sons of Temperance. It is difficult to estimate the important part played by this temperance organ in its intensive, educative campaign during the fourteen years it was published. The files among the archives of our Society are still sought after by the leading temperance workers in Ontario. During the past few months a prominent lecturer and writer asked for and was given the privilege of making copious extracts from them. The Standard did not, however, lose its character as a temperance newspaper, but continued to publish much of the matter that was printed in the columns of the Casket.

Mr. F. R. Yokome, for many years the managing editor of the Peterborough Examiner, was responsible for many of the leading editorials which contributed to the high standing the Standard acquired among the provincial newspapers of its time. Among the number who graduated from its press-room were the late William Templeton and George M. Beeman, the founders of the Napanee Beaver.

### THE REFORMER

The Reformer, as its name indicated, was an out-andout Liberal newspaper. In a lengthy and well written prospectus, the proprietors left no doubt as to their leanings, but, as is usual with politicians and newspapers, they reserved certain rights to act independently, which rights, as is usual too, they rarely exercised. While no mention of any contemporary is made in the prospectus, yet its publication in Napanee was a direct challenge to the Standard and was so interpreted by the editor of the The first number was issued in September, 1854, and it was not many weeks before the rival sheets began to pay their respects to each other. When they got into a real controversy over any subject they did not hesitate at times to use language that would not pass muster in the drawing rooms of polite society. "Leather-headed contemporary across the street" was a quite modest reference to the editor of one, who in equally expressive terms replied to the "Contemptible Rag". As a rule, however, they refrained from using such abusive epithets, and presented their arguments in a proper but forceful manner.

Upon one subject they did agree and that was the question of separation of the county, but even upon that they found occasion to differ now and then in respect to the manner of presenting the case. Both took special delight in hammering away at the Index of Newburgh if it dared to say a word upon the subject not in harmony with their views. As early as February, 1856, the Index declared, "If Addington consents to the separation she will see to it that she has the County Town situated within her own limits". The Reformer was waiting for such an opening and in its next issue thus replied to this bold assertion: "We would ask in the name of wonder, providing the separation be ratified, where would the County Town be situated? Certainly our contemporary cannot imagine, for a moment, that the inhabitants of these counties would consent that Rogues Hollow should be thus honored! And yet, from his language, that would be inferred. Mighty Moses! How some folks aspire! It reminds us of a fable, how preposterous the idea!"

"In way of consolation to our friend of Newburgh, we just remark that we cannot blame him in striving to uphold the interests of his darling village, for it is natural so to do, but that must be considered a very poor pretext indeed, for asserting it to be the proper place for the County Town. Perhaps there is not an individual residing three miles on this side of that place who has an occasion to visit the ambitious village twice a year and probably very many who live in the western part of Camden much oftener visit Napanee than they do Newburgh-doing so with greater ease. Newburgh's advantage as a market is very inferior, which fact is easily substantiated. On the contrary our advantages are, or soon will be, in that respect all that can be desired, showing superabundant advantages over our aspiring neighbors. This fact is so well established that it needs no controversy, and all that may be said by our contemporary, hereafter, cannot, in any way, affect these verities. A thing once substantiated by self evident truths cannot be refuted. Our neighbor. therefore, may as well rest content with his present position, for we predict he will never see the day when Newburgh will be honored as a County Town."

The rising generation perhaps have never pictured to themselves a Napanee without a railway or a Town Hall. In the issue of the Reformer of November 28th, 1855, the editor refers to both of these innovations. In commenting upon a dinner at Brockville celebrating the completion of the Grand Trunk from Montreal to that town the editor concludes an article with:—

"Our time is near at hand. The tide of trade will soon be swept in this direction and we shall certainly reap many advantages by a more convenient mode of transport. Shall we be benefited as a village? Answer, that, those who can. We say, yes! but not by nor through our present selfish tight fisted old fogeyism which reigns and rules; but by the rise and influx of enterprise. Napanee has advantages which must be available and somebody will find it out first, who will it be?"

The Standard in dealing with the same subject passed a very timely criticism upon the bridge in Napanee:-"The splendid and massive masonry of the piers and arches elevated a great height above the river, will be an ornament to the place. The only visible objection, that I am aware of in its construction, is a pier in the centre of the macadamized road, endangering the lives of those who may happen to come in contact with it on a dark night, or whose horses may run away down the hill. A few years ago the stage drawn by four horses and loaded with passengers, ran from the top of the hill, passed over the bridge and in turning the curve of the road the stage upset, injuring several of the passengers and nearly killing one of them. Similar accidents have frequently occurred, and will again happen only with more fatal effects, unless this pier be removed."

In referring to the work upon the Town Hall, the Reformer said, "The contractors of the new Town Hall and market building, have, within the last few days, made a commencement by breaking ground for the foundation. The building, however, will not be commenced until next spring, when it will be proceeded with rapidly, the principal part of the joiner work, etc., being done through the winter. The principal front is, at present, intended to be towards John St.

The ratepayers were by no means unanimous as to the wisdom of erecting such a building. In one issue a correspondent writes: "Is it expedient to involve our infant municipality in a heavy debt, requiring for its liquidation, an annual average tax for ten years of eight and three-fourths pence in the pound in addition to the regular and ordinary taxes?"

"Will such an annual payment not have a tendency to depreciate the value of real estate to that extent, unless a corresponding advantage can be obtained from the works to be erected with the money."

As originally constructed the upper storey was as at present, an auditorium, but the lower storey was divided up into a number of butcher stalls, hence the reference to the "Town Hall and market."

Another heavy ratepayer attacks the Council through the columns of the Reformer, as follows:—

"Look to your market, see the blunders committed there, and that too in the face of a protest by the contractors themselves. Do they dig a sufficient depth to insure a solid foundation, have they specified that the part designed as market shall be finished? The beams that project beyond the walls are they to be covered? Have they planned the roof sufficiently strong to insure safety? I tell you people of Napanee, nay, they have done nothing of the kind; and I predict, if put up according to the plan and specifications, in less than five years it will tumble in ruins."

The old building has outlived the writer of that article by many years, and is still far from the ruins he predicted. The concluding paragraph of his letter of criticism is not without interest:—

"I am told that the contract is left open, that alterations and additions may be made and for these alterations and additions I have no doubt we shall, at least, have to pay a thousand dollars, which added to the debt already incurred will be a serious burden upon the village, but in my opinion this is not their greatest blunder. Seventeen licenses and a bowling alley? People of Napanee think of it? Think of the amount of drunkeness visible at all times by means of this system. Tell us, has there been an arrest made when the offenders were not half-seas over and then tell us by your vote at the coming election whether you approve of the conduct of the men that have brought all these things upon us?"

The population of Napanee at the time was under eleven hundred. Let us picture to ourselves, if we can, seventeen bar-rooms in a village of a little over one thousand inhabitants, and we will scarcely find room for wonder that the temperance advocates were loud in their denunciation of the liquor traffic. In this connection another correspondent in a later issue enquires from the editor "whether the habit of drunkness does not stigmatize men with immorality? If so, how are drunken school teachers permitted to continue in an office of such responsibility? This state of affairs is annoying and morally pestilential and should not be tolerated, at least, such is my opinion."

There was scarcely an issue of any of the early papers that did not contain one or more articles on the temperance question. The Reformer was no exception to the rule. It also had its poetry column and a contributor to that column who did not hesitate to style himself a poet.

In the first issue of 1855 he thus eulogizes the Good Templars:—

My friends accept a poet's praise,
Nor it unworthy deem,
'Tis all a grateful heart can raise,
Though humble it may seem;
It is the sentiment of one,
Who loves your noble cause,
Who views the work that you have done
And grants you his applause.

Your object is benign and pure, Designed to bless our race, Their highest interests to secure, And save them from disgrace, 'Tis to remove the maddening cup That leads to misery, To raise the fettered drunkard up And set the captive free.

Your labour is a work of love
Where words and deeds unite,
The rules of Temperance to prove
And guide mankind aright,
To break the drunkards' poisoned bowl,
The moderate drunker stay,
To rescue him 'ere past control,
And take the curse away.

Ye are a band of noble hearts
With noble deeds in view
Who gladly would to all impart
The joys that dwell with you,
Ye would most gladly wipe the tears,
From every weeping eye
Remove the anxious mother's fears
And stay the orphan's cry.

The drunkard's midnight orgies cease, At your supreme command; The swearer's voice is hushed to peace Calmed by your magic hand, The beast departs, the man returns When brought to own your sway. His baser pleasures then he spurns And turns from them away.

Press onward ye heroic throng
Proclaim the drunkard free,
And push your glorious cause along

Till all its worth may see, Respected stand throughout our land; The advocate of right, And when at last your work is past, In glory all unite.

The Reformer was not a financial success. In fact there was not room at that time for two newspapers in Napanee. The Standard was first in the field and had secured a goodly number of subscribers. It was never offensively partisan in its views and was thus able to hold its subscribers even if its views differed at times from theirs. It was published by natives of Napanee which counted for something. The Reformer was ably edited and under more favorable conditions might have weathered the storm. The proprietors, Messrs. Carman & Bro., were not local men, and after struggling hard for several years to place the paper on a paying basis the plant was removed and they sought their fortune in more promising surroundings.

## THE BANTLING

#### M. E. H.

When on Christmas Day, 1858, a Mr. F. M. Blakely offered to the people of Napanee specimen copies of a new paper, the promise conveyed in the title was to amuse rather than to instruct. From a Bantling, nothing of a very serious nature could be expected, and Mr. Blakely evidently had that saving sense of humor that can enjoy a joke even at one's own expense; for his paper began with a jest, jested through its brief career and died like Mercutio with the bravest jest of all.

In conformity too with its name the Bantling is an unusually small paper of four three-column pages, just one-quarter the dimensions of an ordinary news sheet. The prospectus announces that it "will present, every week, an agreeable melange of the notable events and literature of the day, its columns will always contain a goodly selection of the cream of domestic and foreign news, so condensed as to present the largest possible amount of intelligence in the smallest space—the whole, well spiced with wit and humour. In politics and upon all sectarian questions it will be strictly impartial." In a later issue, the editor points out to correspondents that there are some lines to be drawn even by the strictly impartial; "We would inform our party correspondents, however, that we are not particularly fond of communications which are filled with abuse, calling their opponents thieves, rogues, liars, etc., as it only creates a hard feeling."

The front page of the Bantling was devoted to two departments, and that there might be no confusion the departments were headed by appropriate woodcuts, clearly labelled "Poetry" and "Literature" respectively. of the literature belongs to the Sam Slick school of dialect humor, varied occasionally by a highly moral tale about poor virtuous little Jemmie or the "R. R. Conductor's lesson—an admonition to incivility"—items that must have made pious Aunt Mehitabel beam with gracious approval. Only once, in the issue of Feb. 26th, has this page anything of local interest. Like every other Napanee paper, the Bantling takes a fling at Newburgh, in a fanciful set of "Rules and Regulations of the Napanee and Newburgh Railroad". Newburgh at this time was smarting under the disappointment of having failed to persuade the Grand Trunk Railway to run its line through that village, and the following suggestions would not tend to soothe the disgruntled population.

"A through train will leave the log barn, used as station house, at Slab City, at 7 a.m. and arrive at Newburgh at 10 p.m., leaving Newburgh next morning and arrive at Slab City when it gets there."

"A local train will leave Mink's Bridge for Bowers' Mills every morning at 9 a.m. and return the same evening; thus giving the people a chance to do business and return by daylight. Thus parties can go the same distance, in the same length of time as they formerly could on foot without the trouble of walking, except up the heavy grades."

"Passengers taking live stock, such as pigs, sheep or other tender animals on the passenger train, must take two days' provisions (in case of accident) as the company will not be responsible nor pay for any animals that may starve to death on the journey."

"Passengers are strictly forbid getting out of the cars when in full motion or running ahead, as the cars will not stop for any such when it catches up."

"Persons driving teams (either oxen or horses) are strictly forbid running by the train while in full motion without first asking leave of the engineer to pass."

"Farmers' wives wishing to trade, with the conductor, butter, eggs, rags, vegetables, or anything else for groceries, patent medicines or tinware, must signify their wish to do so by displaying a red flag, and it shall be the duty of the engineer to stop the train."

"Women are requested not to hang clothes lines across the road nor in any way to stop the train."

"In consequence of the Grand Trunk Railway Company not having built a branch road to Newburgh, the directors of the Napanee and Newburgh Railroad will have no connection with the Grand Trunk whatever."

The second and third pages contain the "Cream of the Domestic and Foreign News", correspondence and what few advertisements were inserted, while the fourth page displayed the "Wit and Humor" under the title "Mirth's Melange" with an occasional generous repetition of the third page advertisements to fill up space. The domestic news was skimmed with a very sparing hand, for except the municipal elections and an occasional fire, there is very little of local interest. The election results also called forth a display of local talent. The issue of Jan. 15th contains a melancholy ode, "On the downfall of the Radicals", in the following strain:—

Oh bloodiest picture in the book of time, Bill Miller fell unwept, without a crime, Hope for a season bade the world farewell, And Forward shrieked as Wm. Detlor fell, Departed spirits of the mighty dead, Ye that at Napanee elections bled, Oh once again your freedom's cause fulfill, And put in William, Dave, Bob, Hank and Bill.

In the space devoted to foreign news, we have gossip about the Empress Eugenie's crinoline, the contemplated tour of the Prince of Wales, P. T. Barnum's lectures on money making and the birth and christening of the Kaiser. Later this is superseded by news of Italy's war of liberation against Austria. On this subject, there are some rather able editorials, parts of which are strangely applicable to-day. In the issue of May 28th we find, "and who that ever read of the demoniac doings of Austria in these classic lands-who that can believe that high minded and earnest lovers of their country are enraptured and snared into the utterance of their yearnings, only that they may be made the victims of Austrian bullets or Austrian ropes !-but we must wish those who are the seeming champions of a better order of things "God speed". Let no needless complications arise, let the issue be based fairly and truly on the regeneration of Italy, and liberty cannot be but more fully assured", and in the number for July 9th, "Peace must be restored ere long or the whole of Europe will be drawn in the great struggle, and then, alas, where will it end?"

The Bantling itself did not survive to see the restoration of peace. In the next issue, that of July 16th, there appeared in the editorial column, surrounded by heavy black lines, the following pathetically witty notice:— "Obituary—It is our painful duty to record the last week of a Mr. Bantling, who breathed its last on the 16th of July, 1859, after a lingering sickness of 6 months and 21 days. The remains of Mr. Bantling will be removed from this office—followed by its numerous mourners—to its final rest. It is to be hoped the shops will be closed when the procession is moving and a general mourning be observed by all our citizens. It is lamentable that one so young, just blooming into life, should be cut off from the world; but disease seized him with an iron grasp and held on till the last 'breath of wind' reluctantly departed from his body."

# THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN

Many a man with a fairly good business reputation has failed in the newspaper business, and this was never better illustrated than in the case of Mr. Geo. W. McMullen, who was foolish enough to believe that the village of Newburgh could support a second paper. It was just before the separation of the counties was effected that he ventured forth in the journalistic world as the proprietor and editor of the British North American. He surely must have seen visions of the rapid expansion of the village when it was to become the county seat. It was no fault of his paper that it did not attain that distinction. He entered the arena when the fight was fiercest and supported the claims of the village and the final efforts of its reeve to side-track the question until some new means could be devised for bettering Newburgh's prospects. The formidable title of his paper and his over-zealous efforts could not stay the trend of public opinion. Newburgh lost the day and the British North American's visions of a populous county town springing up in Rogues Hollow quickly faded away, and Mr. McMullen's cherished weakling soon departed this life from the want of sufficient nourishment.

#### THE LENNOX AND ADDINGTON LEDGER

The Lennox and Addington Ledger advertised itself to be the largest county newspaper in Central Canada. It was a large four page, eight column paper first published in Napanee in 1864, by two young men who committed the initial blunder of launching it as an independent paper in the belief that the people of this county could possibly forget their political leanings. Their conception of what a newspaper should be was all right, but their measure of the electors of Lennox and Addington was all wrong.

The editorials were well written and their summaries of passing events were concise and readable. In one

number before the writer, appears a report of the first assizes in the county. The Court House was not built so the court was held in the Town Hall. The presiding judge was the Hon. Adam Wilson, who congratulated the county upon taking its place among the separate independent municipalities of the Province. The first criminal case disposed of was The Queen against John Hoolighan, in which the prisoner was charged with robbery and attempted stabbing. His victim was none other than our respected octogenarian, John B. Blanchard, still a resident of Napanee. The accused was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, but upon the recommendation of the grand jury his mental condition was afterwards inquired into, and he was found to be insane, so the sentence of the court was not put into effect. There was a large docket which in itself justified one of the strongest arguments in support of separation. That was the great waste of time and money in attending court at Kingston.

In a leading editorial in the issue of March 25th, 1865, the editor sounded a note of warning which if heeded might have resulted in forestalling the Fenian Raid of the

following year:-

"Notwithstanding the oft repeated assertion that such a thing as Fenianism does not exist in Canada, it is quite evident that there are those residing in the country who would not flinch from any act, which according to their ideas, would free Ireland from the chains of her oppresser -England! On the evening of St. Patrick's Day this was fully exemplified by a meeting in the Music Hall, Toronto, where a young yankee blow-hard named Mc-Dermott, from New York, delivered an address before the Hibernian Society. During two hours and a half he dealt out to them liberal potations of such treasonable ravings as "The Fenians were organized for the express purpose of achieving the independence of Ireland, and they are as confident of being able to do so as they are that the sun will rise to-morrow. They are also certain that a war will take place before long between England and the United States and then they would strike for the liberty of Ireland." He also advised his hearers to do all in their power to form a republic in this country and then be annexed to the United States."

"It is very much to be regretted that we have in our midst men who have so little respect for truth that they will for two hours and a half endure the affliction of an itinerant Yankee lecturer's bombastic productions and nonsensical treason."

From the want of that financial support, without which

no enterprise can long exist, the Ledger was obliged to suspend publication after a brief but very respectable career of only a few months.

#### THE ADDINGTON REPORTER

The Addington Reporter which later on changed its name to The Newburgh Reporter, demonstrated that it is possible to maintain a newspaper in a small village for a number of years. The first number was published in May, 1875, by W. J. Pappa & Bro., two Newburgh young men who had received some experience in the office of the Beaver.

In glancing over the few numbers upon our files it is quite apparent that the secret of its success, assuming that existence for a number of years, implies success, was in the local news. There were columns of items telling all about what was going on in the village, just the sort of news that people talk about on the street corners, so that a perusal of the Reporter was to the ordinary housewife as good as an hour's chat with her neighbor over the backyard fence. That particular part of the paper from which it was most difficult to withdraw the writer's attention was the market reports. In these meatless, heatless, wheatless days with war prices, how we long for the good old days when a dollar would go so far. The following are samples of the prices we shall never see again.

Ham, 12c. to 15c. per lb.
Mutton, 6c. per lb.
Lamb, 7c. per lb.
Butter, 18c. to 22c. per lb.
Eggs, 4c. per doz.
Chickens, 25c. to 30c. per pair.
New Potatoes, 50c. per bag.
Apples, \$1.00 to \$1.50 per barrel.

The Reporter ventured now and then to deal through its editorial column with the leading public questions of the day, but as a rule the editor confined himself to local issues. Of the twenty eight columns only eight were advertising matter, and a large percentage of that was not the profitable kind. The Pappa Bros., however, managed to keep it going for over five years, when the plant was leased to an employee of the office. A few months were sufficient to convince him that the Reporter was dying a natural death. It finally succumbed, and no one has been brave enough to attempt to publish a paper in Newburgh since its demise.

#### THE ECHO

The Echo could hardly be classed among the early newspapers of the county, yet it was a pioneer in its own territory, being the first and only newspaper ever published in Tamworth. If others take warning from its fate, it is likely to be able to claim the distinction for a long time to come of being the last to be published in that part of the county. It first made its bow to the public in Mill Point (Deseronto) in 1877, as the Mill Point Echo, but as the Mill Pointers did not give it the support its proprietor seemed to think it merited, it suddenly departed one September morning in 1879, and made its appearance in Tamworth under the shorter title "The Echo".

In the first issue appeared the notice of a by-law to be submitted to the ratepayers of Sheffield, providing for the granting of a bonus of \$10,000 to the Napanee, Tamworth and Quebec Railway Company. In his first editorial the editor who had been provided with his arguments from the Mill Point end of the railway scheme said:—

"The importance of the rear townships to the front towns has been long well understood by the frontier, but just how the towns and cities of the front may be made a great source of benefit and wealth to the rear villages and townships, is only lately taken practical shape and becoming a matter of vast interest." If the ratepayers of the front towns and rear townships, who voted away their money, to bring the extremes of the county in closer touch, could have forseen how it has worked out, I fear the majorities would have been against these by-laws that were submitted in the various municipalities along the line of the railway.

To-day there is a daily regular passenger service connecting the rear of our county with the city of Kingston; but no practicable timetable for those who wish to visit their own county town.

In glancing over the advertisements, we were forcibly struck by the many changes that have taken place since that first number was issued; but none was more striking than the modest little card, "M. J. Butler, Provincial Land Surveyor, Mill Point, Ontario."

The proprietor, as he told his readers in his first number, aimed at securing 1500 subscribers. Just how or where he intended to get them he did not say. The villagers and the people in the immediate neighborhood gave him all the patronage he could reasonably expect, but it fell far short of the number he set out to get. He, upon his part, did the best he could and furnished a gossipy little sheet, which for the first few months was

eagerly sought after by a certain class, who delighted to see their names in print. The novelty soon wore off, the editor's supply of jokes and local hits became exhausted, and the Echo, before it had passed its first half year, had become what most village papers are, a cheap patented outside lined with local advertisements and inferior summaries of the week's news as gathered from the daily press. It managed to survive for three years when the editor-proprietor concluded that the people of Tamworth and vicinity were not sufficiently appreciative of his talents to justify him in striving longer to maintain a newspaper in their midst. He, however, departed with a smile after publishing as his final effort a neat little valedictory addressed to his patrons.

#### THE NAPANEE STAR

During the federal election campaign of 1896 Mr. Uriah Wilson was the straight Conservative candidate The Liberals were none too sanguine about carrying the riding with a straight party man and thought to better their chances by joining forces with the Patrons of Industry, a farmers' organization, which was acquiring some influence throughout the country. Accordingly a Patron-Liberal candidate was agreed upon in the person of Mr. Edmund Switzer, an old time Ernesttown Liberal, but a prominent member of the Patrons. The Beaver supported Mr. Wilson and the Express championed the cause of There were a number of Patrons not Mr. Switzer. entirely satisfied with the choice of Mr. Switzer, owing to his former Liberal attachments, and there were a number of Liberals equally dissatisfied because he was a Patron. These murmurings of dissatisfaction were interpreted by some as indicating a general desire throughout the riding for a real independent candidate. Doubtless many an elector in his quiet moments was sick and tired of politics, but as a rule they speedily recovered as polling day drew Mr. Charles Stevens, of Napanee, who had just completed two terms as Mayor, heard the murmurings, and aspiring to higher honors, offered himself as an independent candidate. He had no local organ to lay his views before the electors, and without such help his cause was hopeless. Never did a newspaper come into being so quickly. Presses, type and other equipment were rushed to Napanee, a real live editor secured and early one morning, almost before any one realized that a new weekly was even contemplated, thousands of copies of The Napanee Star and Lennox and Addington Independent were distributed in every home in the riding. The first few issues were devoted almost exclusively to election matters. The entry of a third candidate in the field improved Mr. Wilson's chances, and he was elected by an increased majority.

Mr. Stevens lost the election but he still had The Star. It had announced in its "Salutory" that it had come to stay, and stay it did and proved to be a newsy, spicey little paper. It was quite fearless in its comments and criticisms upon local events and public questions and set a good example for the two other papers of the town. Its example has not, however, had a very lasting effect upon them. Our editors are altogether too considerate for the feelings of their patrons. Some people may take offence if uncomplimentary comments upon their conduct appear in the newspapers. But the men who really count are not so thin-skinned as they may appear. There should be no room in any paper for petty personalities or social scandals; but any man or woman, who comes before the public in any capacity, has no ground for complaint if the press comments upon his or her stand upon matters of public interest. This was the policy adopted in the sanctum of The Star and it worked out successfully and was appreciated by its readers.

It was no easy task to compete with the other two papers with their long established lists of subscribers. Outside of Napanee few people in the county subscribe for two local papers, and to gain admission in the home for The Star meant crowding out one of the other papers, which was perhaps looked upon as an old friend. To many readers the political complexion of his newspaper means a good deal, and there are precious few really independent electors in Lennox and Addington. Many think they are, but when the testing time comes they are generally found lined up in the old party ranks. The Star continued to be a really independent paper and for four years endeavored to win over the people of the county to its way of thinking, but met with very little success. preferred to remain Grits and Tories as their fathers had been before them. It finally gave up the task, and its proprietor thereafter devoted his entire energies to other business enterprises.

# THE NAPANEE EXPRESS

AND

#### THE NAPANEE BEAVER

The Napanee Express and The Napanee Beaver are the two remaining papers to be touched upon in order to bring our record up to date. As both are still published in Napanee, we need give them but a passing notice. If the readers of fifty years ago were to return to-day and peruse the local press, the first comments they would make would be in respect to the entire absence of anything approaching the scraps of their boyhood days, when the rival sheets never lost an opportunity of exposing each other's weak points.

The Express is the senior of the two by nine years. It had its origin as most newspapers do as a political organ to advocate the candidacy of the Hon. Richard Cartwright in the general election of 1863. The first proprietor and editor was Mr. T. S. Carman, who published it under the name of the Weekly Express. For about ten years he continued to fight the battles of the Reform party, and then sold out to Mr. T. W. Casey, who changed the name to the Napanee Express. It passed through several hands, barely escaping at times those of the sheriff, until it reached the present proprietor.

The files have not been preserved, and we have no means of forming an opinion of its merits in its early days except what can be gathered from an odd copy here Mr. Carman could write a good editorial, but and there. appears to have devoted most of his time in canvassing for advertisements, in which branch of the business he In the issue of must have been eminently successful. October 16th, 1868, now before the writer, there are no less than twenty-three columns of advertisements and practically all of them were local. Everyone in business of any kind seemed anxious to reach the public through the columns of the newspapers. There were in all 135 advertisements, and of all that number there was only one name that will be found in the business directory of Napanee to-day, and that was the legal card of D. H. Preston, LL.B. Such a complete change have all the businesses in Napanee undergone during the past fifty years that the only family names preserved in the firms of to-day are found in the advertisements of Boyle & Wright, Gibbard & Son. and D. J. Hogan. The paper underwent a radical change when it passed into the hands of Mr. Casey. It then was teeming with temperance propoganda. In the issue of February 24th, 1876, is a report

of a series of addresses given by the famous lecturer, Mrs. Youmans. The C. M. Church at Odessa is said to have greeted her with an audience of 600. Anyone familiar with the dimensions of the edifice would naturally enquire where they stowed them away. As the correspondent subscribed himself "A worker in the cause", we could hardly expect him to see double; yet we have a suspicion that he did.

We gather from the few copies we have been able to examine that the Express would compare favorably with the ordinary small town newspaper. The local reporter was a busy man and gathered in many items of news and the editorials though not numerous were well written and to the point.

The Beaver was first published in Newburgh in 1870 by Cephas I. Beeman, under the title of The Addington Beaver. It was well received and had just begun to take its place among the permanent institutions of the county when two Napanee journeymen, Mr. Wm. Templeton and Mr. Geo. M. Beeman, who had served their time in the office of the Standard, thought they saw an opening for a newspaper in Napanee. Undeterred by misfortunes of so many of their predecessors in Newburgh and Napanee, they purchased the plant, moved it to Napanee, and continued the publication, but changed the name to the Ontario Beaver. A few years later it came out in a new dress, was enlarged to eight pages, and was thereafter known as the Napanee Beaver. While the Standard continued to be a popular family paper and leaned towards the Conservative party, yet it was not an out and out party organ and prided itself upon its inde-The Express left no doubt where it stood upon pendence. It could always be relied upon to matters political. support the Reform party. Here was an opportunity for the Beaver, and it was not slow in taking advantage of The time had arrived in the realm of politics when each party felt that a local party organ was an indispensible part of the election machinery and the Conservatives accordingly welcomed the Beaver as their champion. While as a rule, it has been comparatively mild in its handling of political matters, yet there has never been any room for doubt as to which party it supported. Nearly half a century ago the Beaver and Express stood respectively for Conservative and Reform, Tory and Grit, and from that day to this they have marched side by side, carrying their party banners, proclaiming the virtues of their respective leaders and deploring the frailties of their opponents.

For many years Mr. T. W. Casey, who, in turn, had written much for the Standard, had edited the Casket, and

owned and published the Express, contributed liberally to the columns of the Beaver. His "Old Time Records", dealing with the early history of this district, were eagerly sought after by everyone taking an interest in such matters. He took great pains in tracing the history of many of the first settlers, and there are scores of families in the county to-day whose knowledge of their ancestors is limited to the information they gathered from the "Old Time Records" published in the Beaver.

All this had a tendency to improve the tone of the paper and the old families, whose genealogy had been traced through the energy of a member of its staff and published in its columns, felt grateful for the attention shown them. The result has been more far-reaching than was ever anticipated by the editor, and we venture to assert that the subscription list to-day contains hundreds of names of people who have moved away, but still keep up their connection with the county through the weekly visits of the Beaver. It had penetrated the family circle through its "Old Time Records" and the attachment thus created is not to be lightly broken off.

Only once in its long and respectable career has the Beaver departed from the course mapped out for it by its founder. In 1890 it ventured forth in a new dress as a tri-weekly; but the experiment was not a success, and after a few months it reverted to the weekly issue, and resumed its old dress.

There was a time in the history of both the Express and the Beaver when they were conducted upon lines calculated to serve the interests of the public better than the policy adopted by both papers to-day. In their early days the editorial column was an important feature in All local matters of interest to the public both papers. were freely discussed. To-day the local press rarely comments editorially upon events and conditions that ought to be brought to the attention of their readers. It is a notarious fact that there is no means of correcting an evil, quite so potent as the press. Most people will endure a certain amount of criticism in private or even from the public platform, but few need to be reminded of their errors a second time through the local newspaper. A case in point will illustrate the force of my argument. years the streets of Napanee have been overgrown with weeds and presented a very untidy appearance. Everyone knew it, many were the complaints, but no effort was made to remedy the evil. During the past season the same conditions existed. An enterprising "Critic" took up the question through the Beaver, and by good natured banter "jollied" the Town Council into getting out a gang of

workmen to remove the weeds. In like manner many private citizens were induced to tidy up their premises.

Our Town Council and School Board are frequently criticized in private for something done by them or left undone, when, if matters had been fully understood, they would have been praised instead. A few timely remarks from the editors would have cleared matters up; but the remarks as a rule are not forthcoming.

Many important measures have come before our County Council and the councils of the local municipalities throughout the county and their decisions have not always been for the best interests of their constituents; not because the representatives did not want to do what was right, but because the public was not educated up to the modern point of view. Here, too, the local press fails to take advantage of its opportunities for doing good. If the press of Napanee had energetically taken up the good roads question and kept at it, our public highways to-day would not be in such a disgraceful condition. There are many fields in which the "Critic" could do useful work and it is to be hoped that the Beaver will maintain that department. It is precisely what has been sorely needed for years.

Each local paper has a score or more of news gatherers throughout the county who send in their weekly budgets. It is quite apparent that these amateur correspondents have never attended a School of Journalism, and the prominence given to certain individuals in the petty personals simplifies the task of guessing the source of the items. These contributions to the papers do little, if any, harm, and if the personals tickle the fancy of those who look with favor upon such references to themselves the subscribers who do not enjoy that sort of reading have no serious grounds for complaint.

The absence of criticism in the Napanee papers leaves them free from the charge of circulating scandals of any kind, and to their credit it may be said that neither one has, so:far as the memory of the writer extends, ever been called upon to answer the charge of libel.

It is not necessary for newspapers to indulge in criticism in order to receive their due share of it; for there is no one engaged in a business catering for public support who is so freely and generally criticized as the man who publishes a newspaper, and if he is a keen critic himself he must be prepared for all sorts of criticism in return. The very nature of his calling invites it, and he is not very often neglected in this respect. He is just as likely to get into difficulty when he is trying his very best to be agreeable; for when paying compliments some one is sure to be overlooked. He has a very extensive and varied list of

customers, and to please them all is out of the question. There are innumerable religious, literary, patriotic and social organizations, each one of which claims special consideration from the publisher and insists upon presenting advertisements disguised as items of news. To publish them means the loss of so much time and space, to refuse to do so brings down upon his head the anathemas of the unreasoning members of the society.

The Napanee papers have at all times been extremely generous in this respect, and particularly so since the outbreak of war. Hundreds of columns of notices and advertisements, although not classed by the writers as such, have been published free, at a time when most papers could ill afford to do it. This commendable generosity will cover a multitude of shortcomings and dispose the writer to wish them both God Speed in their sometimes unenviable vocations.

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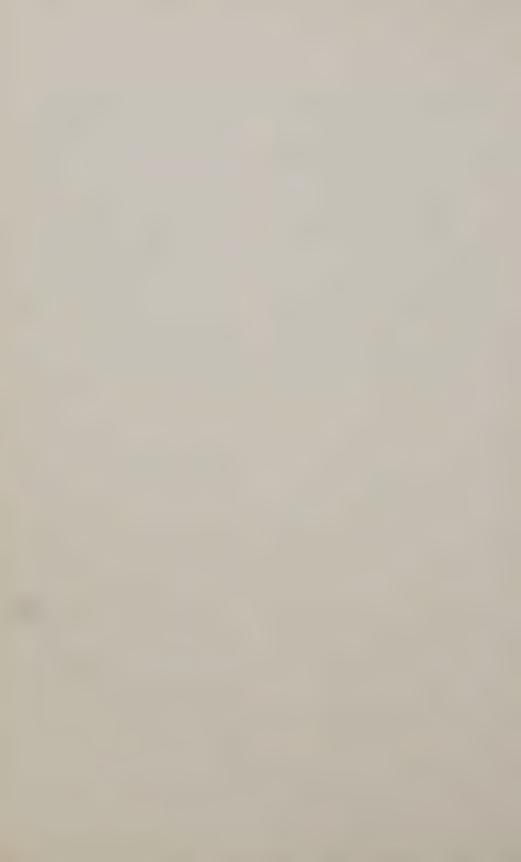
AUGUSTUS HOOPER



SIDNEY WARNER



JOHN STEVENSON



# LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# PAPERS AND RECORDS

VOL. XI

#### THE NORTH AMERICAN

BEING A SELECTION OF EDITORIALS FROM THE NORTH AMERICAN, AN OLD NEWSPAPER, AT ONE TIME PUBLISHED IN LENNOX AND ADDINGTON, THE FILES OF WHICH WERE PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY HARVARD McMULLEN, BROTHER OF THE PUBLISHERS.

COMPILED AND EDITED

By WALTER S. HERRINGTON, K.C., F.R.S.C.

NAPANEE, ONTARIO PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY 1924

PRINTED AT THE BEAVER OFFICE



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#### INTRODUCTION

Over a year ago Mr. Harvard McMullen presented to the Society a file of The North American, a weekly newspaper published by his brothers, G. W. and I. B. McMullen, sixty years ago. The first issue appeared on the 24th of June, 1862, and was printed in Napanee in the building opposite the Campbell House, on the south side of Dundas street. In the issue of July 29th, the publishers announced their intention of moving their plant to Newburgh, and frankly gave as their reason for so doing that they expected to secure more patronage by way of advertising and subscriptions than was likely to come their way if they remained in Napanee, where the Standard was already established and was considered one of the best edited papers They continued the publication in in Eastern Ontario. Newburgh until May 12th, 1864, when they shifted their plant to Picton. We have gone carefully through all the issues covering a period of two years, and without any attempt at classification, have selected and now present in chronological order such items as we believe will prove instructive and entertaining to the readers of to-day. least two generations have come upon the scene since these articles were penned. A perusal of the following pages will revive many memories in the advanced readers, and will give the younger ones a fair insight into the events of the days of their grandparents.

W. S. HERRINGTON.

#### GLEANINGS FROM

# The Aorth American

PUBLISHED IN NEWBURGH IN 1862-3-4

#### **Market Quotations**

For purposes of comparison with present day prices we select from the first issue the following quotations from the Napanee market:

	\$ c.		\$ c.
Wheat, per bus	80	to	90
Barley, per bus	50	to	55
Butter, per lb	10	to	12
Cheese, per lb	7	to	10
Lard, per lb	8	to	10
Eggs, per doz	7	to	8
Fowls, per pair	25	to	30
Beef, per lb	6	to	. 8
Ham, per lb	7	to	8
Hay, per ton	8 00	to	10 00

#### Federal Union

The following selections from the first editorial reflect credit upon the writer, when we bear in mind that Federation was still several years distant.

"We have always considered favorably, as a remedy for existing or prospective difficulties, a change in our North American relations,—which has been but partially brought before the Canadian people, but into which we believe it is the duty of every patriotic man to examine, and an adoption of which, as far as possible, would, in our opinion, prove vastly beneficial to us,—we mean a Federal Union, upon a just basis, of all the British North American Provinces. This course, while it would allow each Colony untrammelled liberty in the management of its own local affairs, would give us, as a whole, a reputation and national character, of which our union with Lower Canada has furnished a mere type. It could not be injurious to Upper Canada since it is the largest of all the sections embraced and consequently would have a full and fair share in the general legislation. We believe it would also do away with the unhappy rivalry which the near balance of religious denominations in the two provinces occasions, and would give an opportunity to the different sects to adopt a liberal course towards others, without fear of permanent injury."

"It is to be regretted that no action has been taken by the Canadian authorities in reference to developing the resources of the Northwest Territory, and extending the limits of Canada in that direction. We believe this must be done, sooner or later, or the enterprising inhabitants of the neighbouring Union will avail themselves of the discontent already existing in that part of America, to enlarge the boundaries of the great republic."

#### Defeat of the French in Mexico

It will be remembered that at this time the United States was in the throes of a civil war, with no time nor means to pay any attention to external affairs. Mexico, after countless revolutions, found its treasury empty, and Louis Napoleon, regardless of the Monroe doctrine, had invaded the country ostensibly with the view of collecting the debts owing to the French, but his real object appeared to be the gaining of a foothold on the Western Continent. The following editorial of July 1st foreshadowed what Napoleon subsequently accomplished, the subjugation of the country and the establishment of an Empire, with his tool, Maximillian, brother of Frances Joseph, of Austria, on the throne:

"From accounts received some weeks since, it appears that the French army in Mexico suffered a severe defeat from the native Mexican forces. A later report says that they have capitulated; this lacks confirmation. What effect this defeat will have on the Emperor and his subjects it is impossible to tell, although reports show a tendency to continue the war. Whether they will endeavour to 'retrieve the honor of France', or consent to withdraw an army already reduced by sickness, and probably disconcerted by defeat, and, moreover, engaged in a wicked and useless attempt to subjugate, or, as the French Emperor would have it, occupy Mexico, is not certain. The latter is certainly the course which should be pursued, since the object of sending troops to Mexico was merely to enforce the payment of debts, which the Mexicans threatened to repudiate. Almost immediately upon the landing of the allied forces at Vera Cruz, the Mexicans complied with the demands, and England withdrew her forces; not so France. who appeared to wish some pretext for maintaining her ground in this weak and unhappy country,-so long distracted by internal strife.

"Since the reputation of Mexican soldiers was at so low an ebb, no one for a moment supposed that they would be at all able to resist successfully, the disciplined French veterans. The result has, however, dispelled any such illusions, for the Mexicans have met them in the open field and defeated them. We, of course, would not for a moment suppose that Mexican soldiers are at all equal to French, under the same circumstances; but when a man feels that he is fighting unmerited oppression, it has a wondrous effect upon him. Some men, indeed, who are the veriest cowards in other positions, will resist with unflinching tenacity any innovation on their freedom.

"There can be no mistaking Louis Napoleon's great desire for conquest, but nevertheless we cannot see the propriety of a needless waste of life and money in the conquest of Mexico."

## John A. Joins the Sons of Temperance

The press had already begun to keep in close touch with all the movements of John A. Macdonald as is apparent from the following personal reference in the issue of July 22nd:

"We never felt more pleasure than we do in announcing that the Hon. John A. Macdonald was initiated as a Son of Temperance, on Friday evening last, in the Mechanic's Division, Kingston. This course, on the part of the ex-Attorney General, cannot fail to be beneficial to himself and to the many who almost slavishly follow his example."

By August 12th, The North American was comfortably housed in its new quarters on the corner of Main and Concession streets, in the Village of Newburgh, and in the number published upon that date the editor again returns to his favorite theme.

#### To Our Patrons

"The North American in changing locations, changes nothing else, it will still maintain the liberal principles it has previously enunciated, since its object is to raise Canada and every part of it to its proper sphere. Whoever may oppose, Canada will yet arrive at what she is now so rapidly approaching, a first class position among earth's powers. This consummation can be seriously delayed by internal rivalry or strife. The end is certain, but each one should endeavour, as it were, to help fate and share in common with patriotic fellow-countrymen the honor of achieving so great an end.

"Some people, in following the dictates of a contracted self-interest, often delay great national moves. We trust that neither the people of this country nor any part of Canada, will oppose aught that makes for the general interests of the community. In speaking of Canada, we do not mean merely the strip, as actually surveyed, but the vast territory stretching from Atlantic to Pacific, known as British North America."

#### American Troubles

Across the border the North was endeavoring to augment its army in the field by drafting into the service an additional 600,000 men. The slackers were fleeing into Canada to escape conscription, and while they were unwelcome guests, yet their tales of blood-shed and suffering, bad enough at its best, but no doubt grossly exaggerated, exercised no small influence in moulding public opinion upon this side of the line. The view thus held by Canadians is reflected in the following editorial of August 19th:

"Mr. Lincoln no doubt has endeavoured to take a very careful and safe course in the administration of his affairs, but in doing so, he has regularly avoided striking at the very foundation (slavery) and acknowledged cause of the present contest; which has prolonged the war to the present fearful crisis, when the result appears to be pending as in a balance, so uncertain is it which party will prove themselves victorious.

"It has been our desire to see the North gain their point, if they were likely to act as we supposed they would. viz., do away with the curse of their nation. We did not wish to have them declare, at once, that all slaves were free, but to give the world to understand that they would do away with the system as soon as possible and practicable. and in a fair and equitable manner. This, it has been thought by people well able to judge, was not impossible since they could have remunerated all loval persons for their slave property at an expense far less than the cost is likely to be of raising and maintaining even 300,000 men for one year. This indefinite kind of position taken by the president and his Government has undoubtedly been the means of making many friends for the South in Canada. and also of weakening the sympathies of many, who heretofore expressed themselves as friends of the Union. know several journals that have always been warm friends of the Federals that are lately moderating very much their tone; and are apparently dissatisfied with the course of the Government. This betokens a change."

#### **American Visitors**

This forcibly reminds us of the fact that this fratricidal struggle had been under way a long time before the slaves were actually emancipated. Is it possible that it might have been avoided if the plan of compensation suggested by the editor had been adopted? In the next issue, under the above heading, he returns to the subject, and in language with no uncertain sound, roundly scores those undesirable guests.

"We are just now well favored with a large access to our population in the persons of Americans, who have "skedaddled" to avoid the draft. As a general rule we are among the first to welcome parties from the other side of the line. They are usually among the first benefactors of Canada, since their energetic business habits have a favorable effect upon our population, and they are usually the first to conduct or encourage any branch of trade or industry. With the present party, however, we can show no friendship, they have deserted their country in her hour of greatest trial, when the tendons of her vast frame are stretched to the utmost, and every moment threatens a final overthrow. They have basely withdrawn from their native home rather than obey the call to duty, and should success attend her efforts, perhaps none would shout more lustily, or more highly laud, the bravery of 'our' heroes than these patriotic citizens. We believe that with the Botany Bay convict they might sav.—

> 'True patriots, we, for be it understood, We leave our country for our country's good.'

"In whatever direction the sympathies of Canadians may lie, we believe they should spurn any approaches on the part of those who are willing while everything prospers, to profit out of their country, and upon the first approach of danger, disgracefully turn their backs with apparently no more feeling than they would go through an ordinary every-day transaction."

#### Church Dedication

The members of Trinity Church, Napanee, will be especially interested in the report of the dedication of the old stone church, which was torn down in 1906 to make room for the present handsome structure erected upon its site. This report appeared in the issue of September 10th, 1862.

"The dedicatory services connected with the opening of the new W. M. church in the Village of Napanee, took place on Sunday last, as announced by handbills and otherwise. This church, which has just been completed, is a credit to the society and the place. It has been built at an expense, we understand, of \$8,000.00, and it can be denominated a cheap building. The sermons were preached

by the Rev. Dr. Wood, President of the Conference, at 10.30 a.m.; Rev. John Black, at 3 p.m., and the Rev. Dr. Nelles, Principal of Victoria College, at 7 p.m. The Reverend gentlemen fully sustained their former reputation, and everything passed off creditably. The success of the choir especially elicited approbation, and Dr. West, at the close, took occasion, in a very neat manner, to bestow a handsome and we believe, a well deserved compliment on the singers. We understand that the large attendance produced, as it should, a large collection, which as is generally the case, was a relief to the steward. There was a bazaar Monday and Tuesday, and also a teameeting on Tuesday evening, of the result we have not heard.

"There will be preaching at the same hours next Sabbath by the following ministers: Rev. George Young, morning and evening, and the Rev. W. H. Poole, of this place, in the afternoon. If the services are as interesting as on last Sabbath, we can only recommend our friends to go, and if they go we would remind them that churches cost money."

## **Emancipation**

That the war to the South was getting upon the nerves of Canadians is evident from the fact that the news columns were filled with items from the different fronts, and the editor frequently summed up the situation as in the following editorial of September 10th:

"The long wished and prayed for proclamation by President Lincoln seems likely to be not much longer delayed. The whole pressure of the Republican journals and the chief mouth-pieces of the party, are being brought to bear to accomplish this end, as a final means of saving the great, but tottering, Union. No person doubts that such a proclamation will be issued, and it is now generally thought that the sooner it appears the better. Being steady, and we believe consistent, opponents of slavery, we have looked forward to some crisis in this war when it would become a military necessity to free the slaves and thus speedily erase that foul blot from the national American character. We have steadily, since the war began,

wished for success for the Federal party. We did this, not out of admiration for the principal parties, who are considered exponents of Northern views for to a majority of them, we are happy to take exception, nor are we actuated by any enthusiastic admiration of the manner in which matters have been conducted since the war began; but we believe that in the great mass of the community at the North there exists a sincere desire to free their land from the great evil that has from its very origin, cursed it. How different with the South, whose professed desire is to perpetuate this very system. They who have always ruled the national councils, as soon as they perceived that the intelligence of the North was awaking to the infamy of the system, at once to perpetuate their horrible dealings in flesh and blood, resolved to cap the climax by destroying the very nation that had fostered and fed them.

"In thus declaiming against the South, we would not be understood to acquit the North as guiltless; many parties in that section have long, either openly or in an indirect manner, encouraged the system of human bondage, while a large class have so totally forgotten everything like a moral responsibility, that they have achieved for their country, we cannot but think with partial justice, the appellation of a 'Nation without God'."

Resuming the subject in his issue of October 1st, the Editor continues his comments:

"It is a mighty step in the right direction and should enlist the sympathy of the entire civilized world. After being trodden under an iron-heeled despotism for two hundred years, the wronged African is to have his rights; he is henceforth to be numbered among men instead of brutes, for the history of slavery would seem to assign to him a position among the irrational and irresponsible portion of creation. The civilized portion of the community cannot but applaud this bold humane view of the President, and it will awaken a sympathetic chord in their nature, for that portion of the nation loyal to the old constitution. What will become of the slaves is asked on one hand. Were it in our province to answer, we would say at once, that at present many are needed for the war, and when that is

over, all, and more than all, are required to raise 'King Cotton' on the Southern plantations. As free men, their labor will be to more purpose than when their lives were devoid of aim, and we indulge the hope, that as free men, they will restore the soil, which as slaves, their labor tended to degenerate."

#### Yates' Hotel

Abel Yates, well known to all of the old residents of Napanee, sought the patronage by the following advertisement:

#### "Yates' Hotel

"Corner of Dundas and East Streets, Napanee, C.W. Ministers of all denominations half fare.

Abel Yates,
Late of The Campbell House, Proprietor."

#### Separation of Lennox and Addington from Frontenac

In the issue of February 4th, 1863, we see the spark that set fire to the ambitious desire of Lennox and Addington to sever connection with Frontenac and become a separate county. Sidney Warner, Reeve of Ernesttown, was a candidate for the Wardenship of the then United Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington, but was defeated by a man of inferior ability from Frontenac. The North American denounced in good round terms the selfishness of the representatives from Frontenac. We are not at all surprised therefore to find the following in the next issue:

"At a meeting held yesterday afternoon, at the Town Hell, Napanee, of the Reeves of Lennox and Addington, it was carried that they petition the Governor-in-Council for a separation of these United Counties. The vote was unanimous. Fuller particulars next week."

#### Poland

The editor by no means limited his editorial observations to purely local affairs. He views with equanimity the threatening war clouds in Europe and enlightens his readers by a well written article on March 18th, 1863: "It is very gratifying to hear, every moment of our lives some new effort for human liberty, and while our hearts bleed at the inevitable destruction of life, we nevertheless, realize that such things must be, and if freedom cannot be achieved in any way but by war, then war must come. Poland has earned a classic name in our ears by the noble stand taken in defense of liberty under patriotic leaders against the united power of Russia, Prussia and Austria.

"She has been for years ground under the iron heel of Russia, and we mistake the liberal aspirations of our age if she is longer crushed to the earth. The tone of English statesmen is adverse to any interference, unless on behalf of the Poles, and France occupies the same position. We only find the would-be autocrat of Prussia in opposition to an immense majority of the Popular Representatives, openly intriguing on behalf of his historical Russia.

"We have always admired the course of the present Emperor of Russia in pushing to a successful end his vast schemes for liberation and we looked for the display of generous self-denial on his part in allowing the Poles, whose very nature and temperament are so Anti-Russian, to exercise the right of self-government. It may be that he will yet see his error in thus contending against the prevailing notions of the day and the undoubtedly ascendant popular sympathy.

"It must be remembered that Poland at one time was not the oppressed nationality she now is, at one time Poland was the foremost defender of Christianity in Eastern Europe against the inroads of the Turkish and Tartar Barbarians and a feeling of ordinary humanity should prompt us to wish them restored to the position they once held. We do not believe in encouraging acts of hostility against existing rules for trivial reasons; but we look upon this outbreak in Poland as a spontaneous and universal uprising of an oppressed people against laws adverse to their nature and against the rule of a people whose sympathies, desires, education, and tendencies are almost the antipodes of their own. Their request was reasonable. It was not granted, and they have availed themselves of

arms to sanction their claim; so far they maintain the ascendant. May they succeed."

#### The Examination at the Academy.

In the issue of April 8th is an extended report of the examination at the Newburgh Academy, conducted orally in the old fashioned style. The examination extended over three days, and instead of being in private as at present, all the ratepayers were invited to come and witness the proceedings.

"The system pursued at the examination was to bring the scholars of all the rooms into one room and thereby allow the spectators to hear the recitations of every class; this plan entails considerable delay, and we can scarcely believe that the advantage it gives visitors counteracts the long time it takes.

"The classes in Geometry, Trigonometry, French and Algebra acquitted themselves very creditably in their respective branches. The scholars of the common school department, also, by their examinations, paid a high compliment to their teachers. There is one fault, however, which it is impossible to remedy when dealing with a number of small children, that is the confusion attendant on the presence, in one room, of 200 or 300 people, which, added to the low tone of small scholars, makes the otherwise interesting examinations exceedingly unsatisfactory."

The late John D. Ham was chairman of the School Board, and among the prize winners we note the following: 1st in Latin, James H. Madden, now Judge of the County Court; 1st in Arithmetic, Matthew Ryan, now deceased, late Warden of the County, and 2nd in Reading, W. P. Deroche, Local Registrar of the Supreme Court.

# Separation of the Counties

The meeting of the Reeves held in Napanee on February 10th, had already borne fruit. All the preliminaries to the introduction of a bill providing for the separation of the counties had been completed. The arguments in favor of separation were very neatly summed up in a leading article of April 15th, from which we quote a part only:

"The population of the three counties and the city was, according to the last census, 66,092, and is probably now not less than 75,000, of which about 30,000 are in Lennox and Addington, a fully sufficient number for independent municipal support. We can easily understand the opposition which is given to the separation project by the members of the County Council from Frontenac, who derive so much benefit from their connection in a monetary line with our county. While there is ample population to justify separation, there are also many other reasons which should impel us to take the step. When the population was thin, and the people poor, there was less necessity for them to leave their homes often for the county capital and consequently less inconvenience experienced by it being at a distance: but now, with new townships constantly opening in the rear and increasing demand for some centre or mart in our immediate vicinity, where the ordinary business of the county can be transacted without the disagreeable necessity of a tedious jaunt to Kingston, we should not be longer deprived of our rights. It has long been an established rule that the senior county allows without protest, the division when the wishes of the junior are known to be inclined in that direction, and after the decisive vote at Napanee last February, we can interpret the course pursued at Kingston by Mr. Flanigan and others, as nothing but a selfish clinging to the old regime against all considerations of general interest.

"In the discussions which will take place upon the County Town, the question will be placed fairly upon its merits and that the people of the different townships will weigh well the consequences of their vote, they should consult their own and the general convenience in the dispatch of the County business, and we believe that the inconvenience they have suffered heretofore will teach them a lesson in bringing it as near their homes as they can. Newburgh will raise no false issues, all they want is a fair and just expression of public opinion on this point and they consider their cause safe. We do not blame parties in Napanee working all they can for their village, as we assuredly shall for ours, but if the people of the larger

County, Addington, remain but true to their interests, we have no fear of the result. When the Bill appears we will keep our readers posted on this important subject.

"We hope that the general feeling in favor of a popular vote will prevent the Reeves, at their meeting on Saturday next, from taking the settlement of this matter, which they have no right to do, out of the hands of its rightful arbiters, the people."

A new question, however, had arisen—that of the County Town, and The North American left no doubt where it stood upon that question. There were four claimants in the field, Napanee, Newburgh, Bath and Tamworth, was a foregone conclusion that neither Bath nor Tamworth could secure the prize, but both remained in the field until a vote was taken at a meeting of the Reeves in Napanee on April 11th, when Napanee secured a majority of the votes. Newburgh was not satisfied with this verdict and contended that so important a question as the selection of a County Town should be determined by a vote of the ratepayers. Douglas Hooper was the representative of the County in the Legislative Assembly, and being a Camden man he naturally favored Newburgh's claims. Richard Cartwright, afterwards Sir Richard, was the largest property owner in Napanee, and he used all of his influence for Napanee. As he was a prospective candidate at the next election, it will be readily seen that the County Town problem was likely to make itself felt at that election. Canada then embraced only two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, and the Legislative Assembly met at Quebec. A Coalition Government had been having a hard time of it and went down under a vote of want of confidence moved by John A. Macdonald, the member for Kingston, afterwards Sir John. The editor of The North American leaves no doubt as to his political leanings in the following editorial:

#### The Want of Confidence Vote

"The truce given by the opposition is over, and war is really in vogue in the Legislature. On Friday last the Hon. John A. Macdonald moved a direct vote of want of confidence in the administration, which of course brings matters to a direct issue. We have not learned the fate of the measure, but soon will, the probabilities are that it will be lost by a narrow majority, but on the other hand it may possibly carry.

"In making his speech, the member for Kingston indulged in the usual amount of bombast and humbug, which characterizes his efforts. He lost sight of his own chequered political life, his own directly opposite votes on the Representation Question, his change of opinion on the Clergy Reserve Secularization and accused the present holders of the Treasury benches with inconsistency. Such a charge coming from such a source, must be considered, by all impartial hearers as a mere claptrap cry, only made for the sake of regaining the coveted places on the other side of the House."

#### The County Town Again

Mr. Douglas Hooper, the member for Lennox and Addington, was a Conservative. The Editor of The North American was a Reformer, but as Mr. Cartwright was at that time a Conservative also, there was no course open to the Reform editor but to support the man in favor of Newburgh as the County Town, and this he proceeds to do as appears from the following editorial:

"We have much pleasure in notifying our readers that Mr. Hooper, last week, gave notice of a Bill to allow the ratepayers of Lennox and Addington to choose their own County Town. This course, on the part of the County member, is highly commendable as it refers the whole matter to the rightful arbiters, the people; although it may suit our friends in Napanee, who fondly but illusively, imagined the whole matter settled by the Reeves.

"However much local feeling may be brought to bear against Mr. Hooper in the course he has taken, we firmly believe that he will be sustained by the general good sense of the County, and that, on the whole he will gain in popular estimation by so just a course.

"We have to praise the well-timed remarks of our contemporary, The Standard, last week in reference to the

claims of Napanee. No one pretends that Napanee has not an advantage over us in being possessed of water and railway communications, but that does not argue that the people of the County will be convenienced more by going to Napanee than Newburgh to do County business, and it will be well for our people to understand the wire pulling that will be resorted to by less conscientious advocates of Napanee than our friends of The Standard."

#### The American War

The election of 1863 was one of the most bitter in the history of our country, yet the American war was the all-absorbing topic of conversation and in the minds of some had a direct bearing upon the campaign. There were grave fears that England might be involved. The press of all shades of politics published columns of news and followed the movements of the opposing forces with harrowing tales of slaughter and suffering. Time and again the editor expresses his abhorrence of the terrible conflicts. The following is from the issue of May 6th:

"This desolating war still continues with as little prospect as ever of termination. Its effect on the trade of the whole world is now keenly felt and so clamorous is public opinion against its continuance that a move of some kind towards a finality will have to be taken by one or another of the contending parties, or by some foreign power. Gen. Hooker has commenced an 'On to Richmond' march, with what success remains to be seen. It may be that the acknowledged exhaustion of the South will enable him to make an easy capture of that now famous city and it is also possible that he will meet the disastrous fate of McDowell, McClellan and Burnside.

"We can never have any sympathy with the Confederate States in the move they have made. They have defended themselves gallantly, it is true, but the rotten principle of slavery, upon which their Government is founded, is a bar no true British subject can cross. We heartly wish their defeat, but if that is not soon accomplished, no considerations should further prolong the war. It has caused an amount of suffering scarcely ever before

equalled, it has deranged the commerce, not only of our own land, but of the entire civilized world, and in the name of humanity should soon be ended."

#### The Election

The candidates were soon in the field for the election and ranged themselves under three banners: The Reformers. The Liberal Conservatives, and the old die-hard Conservatives under the leadership of Galt, Cartier and John A. Macdonald. The latter party was given the rather unsavory title of The Corruptionists. Cartwright and Hooper, the candidates for Lennox and Addington, both claimed to be Liberal Conservatives. This was Mr. Cartwright's first entry into political life and his youth and inexperience were urged as reasons for not supporting his candidature. In reading their respective addresses to the electors there appears to be little to choose between them. Both were for retrenchment and economy, as indeed all candidates profess to be and in all probability will so continue to the end of time, or so long as legislators are elected by popular vote. Both candidates were for Representation by Population and claimed that Upper Canada did not have its fair proportion of members in the Legislature. No candidate in Upper Canada could hope to be elected without this plank in his platform. Both were for placing the militia on a sounder footing, and Mr. Cartwright went so far as to say "causes over which we can exercise no control may at any instant involve us in a war of the most desperate character."

That he was shaping his canvass so that he might consistently follow either of the old time parties in the house might reasonably be inferred from the following extract from his address:

"I believe the country to be in such peril that it becomes all good citizens, Conservative or Reformer, to lay aside party disputes and stand together firmly, at least till this danger be overpast. And I may urge this the more reasonably because I believe I am justified in saying that almost all the great questions which formerly divided those parties have been peacably adjusted and, that if at this juncture any important differences can be said to exist between them, it lies chiefly in this,—that the Reform party perceive perhaps the most clearly, the vital importance of retrenching and adjusting our finances, while the Conservatives, on the other hand, are most alive to the quite as urgent necessity of preparing for the war storm, which any hour may discharge itself on our head."

#### The Election Candidates

The views of the respective candidates were well known upon the question of the County Town, but both took good care not to make any reference to it in their addresses to the electors. The personal merits, however, were not overlooked. Mr. Cartwright represented himself as a very large property owner with great financial interests at stake in the riding and prided himself in being born in the riding, and descended from U. E. L. parents, thinking perhaps thereby to score a slight advantage over his opponent, who was born in Scotland and came to Canada when a mere child and was brought up in Lower Canada. Mr. Hooper retorted that his property holdings were not so large as those of Mr. Cartwright, yet what he had he had earned by hard labor and that his knowledge of the wants and necessities of a farming community was better than that of the other candidate, who had never experienced the hardships necessary to obtain a livelihood by manual labor. After the campaign was well under way, the Reformers held a rather stormy meeting at Newburgh with the result that they concluded that it was too late to put a candidate in the field. This seemed guite satisfactory to The North American, whose editor would have been placed in an awkward position if his political party had seen fit to nominate a candidate. He was quite sincere in the following editorial:

"We are glad that this conclusion was arrived at, for although we would very much like to see this county represented by a good moderate Reformer, yet in the present juncture, as we stated last week, we believe it very imprudent for a third man to enter the field, for our part, being satisfied with Mr. Hooper's past course, and also that if re-elected he will be as consistent, we shall do all we can, in a lawful manner, to ensure his election."

#### "The Supplementary Estimates"

The editor essayed at times to be facetious. We leave the reader to form his own opinion of his success along this line.

"By special favor we have received the following list of supplementary estimates to be proposed to the House shortly:

Salary of a compositor from the "Grumbler"	
office, to teach the Hon. Mr. Cameron, the	
new printer, his new business\$	1000 00
Printer's devil to assist	500 00
To provide a new set of brains for Mr. Cauchon	1 00
Repairs to Mr. Ryerson's political morality	20 00
To purchase some of Mr. Dunkin's self-conceit for	
Mr. Dorion	10 00
For a bag to shake up J. A. Macdonald and George	
Brown together with a view of seeing which	
will be the first to emerge	50
To print 500 copies of Mr. Wright's orations for	0.00
general circulation, say	2 00
To procure a foreign mission or something to get rid of Mr. Carter	50 00
For a copy of Joe Miller for Mr. Rymal	50 50
To purchase bacon, eggs and other palatable	00
means of sustinence for the pupils of the U.	
C. College	500 00
To pay Dr. Ryerson's expenses to Nova Zembla	10 00
For a dancing master to instruct Messrs. Benja-	
min and Baxter, in the sailor's hornpipe	10 00
To furnish Godley, the Court Jesterfield, with a	
few grains of common sense	. 10
each other when in committee of the whole.	10000 00
For an interpreter to explain Isaac Buchanan's	10000 00
speech	1 00
-	

100 00

#### The Election

To those of us who have had opportunities of witnessing the entire absence of even friendly relations between Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Richard Cartwright, it is inconceivable that at one time these two men were so intimately associated in politics that the latter found it necessary to deny the charge brought against him that he was dominated by John A. It is a fact, however, that they were very intimate, both socially and politically, and on nomination day Mr. Cartwright in referring to a current report, declared that he "was not under the thumb of John A. Macdonald". The election took place on the 17th and 18th of June, and Cartwright was returned by a majority of 285. The Reformers, under the leadership of John Sandfield Macdonald in Upper Canada and A. A. Dorion in Lower Canada, carried the country by a fair majority. In Lennox the question of the County Town had a marked effect, particularly in Napanee, North Fredericksburgh, Newburgh and Camden, as will be seen from the following returns:

	Cartwright	Hooper
Napanee	. 202	52
North Fredericksburgh	. 190	59
Newburgh	. 12	131
Camden	. 334	560

Throughout the rest of the county the Conservatives appear to have divided their votes, while the majority of the Reformers voted for Cartwright, probably because he was a young man of means with no political sins to answer for, while Hooper had a Conservative record in the House with slim chances of ever making a Reformer out of him. The North American declared itself disappointed in the result, but upon the whole took the defeat rather gracefully and concluded its leading editorial upon the election as follows:

"We are yet to be convinced that the Reformers will not regret the vote they have this time given, and that when it is too late to remedy it; as it is, Mr. Cartwright is now member elect for this county, and as such must act as our representative. We wait the development of his course with anxiety, only hoping, but we confess against hope, that his course on all questions will be as liberal as his ardent admirers anticipate. If he gives a support to the present Government in opposition to his friend, John A., he will be a political curiosity such as is not often found in the ranks to which he belongs, more especially in the celebroted 'Liberal' city of Kingston."

#### The New Member

The new parliament met on August 13th, and upon the first vote it was found that the government had a majority of only eight or ten. One of the first acts of the Ministry was to pass an order-in-council constituting Napanee the County Town of the new County of Lennox and Addington, as Mr. Hooper during the last session of the previous parliament had secured the passage of a bill separating the counties, and the only necessary step remaining to enable the new county to proceed to set its house in order was the naming of the County Town. For this Mr. Cartwright got the blame and was charged with a violation of his preelection pledge that he would not favor the naming of the County Town by the government if a majority of the ratepayers petitioned for having it determined by a popular vote. No such petition had been presented, but The North American claimed that one was being circulated to the knowledge of the member, and that his action was premature and calculated to circumvent the will of the electors. As a matter of fact a petition had been forwarded to the Government, asking for delay, and also a counter petition praying that the proclamation do issue at once putting the act of separation into force and naming the County Town. and while Mr. Cartwright had stated upon the hustings that he would not oppose having a vote taken upon the question, there is no evidence that he was responsible for the issuing of the proclamation. There is every reason to believe that Stevenson, afterwards the Honourable John Stevenson, speaker of the first parliament of the Province of Ontario, and who was named in the proclamation as the first Warden, was the person responsible for securing the passing of the Order-in-Council that put an end to the controversy that had already lasted too long. Moreover, we have no reason to believe that Mr. Cartwright was persona grata with the government as he voted steadily against it, for which The North American called him to task.

"What say Reformers now, we wonder? Their pet candidate and liberal minded representative has scarcely come up to the political mark they set for him. Mr. Cartwright, many of them said, while the election was going on, was pledged to them even personally to give a generous support to the present government and to judge them entirely by their measures. We ourselves heard him say that he would not vote want of confidence in them at the opening of the session, but would give them a fair trial. It may be well asked how has he fulfilled those pledges? He gave his vote for Mr. Wallbridge, and since then has steadily voted against the government and on the first opportunity declaring by his vote, for his speeches say nothing, that he had no confidence in the administration."

#### John A. Macdonald

A week after Mr. Cartwright had been declared elected the wrath of the editor appears to have subsided so far as the local election was concerned. He was a Reformer at heart, although for local reasons he did all he could to secure the return of Mr. Hooper. The Reformers claimed seventy-three seats in the House and accorded to the opposition fifty-one, and the independents six. In his pre-election notices he had the three classes, Reformers, Corruptionists and Liberal-Conservatives, but in summing up the returns after the election, he put John A. back in the Conservative fold, and although he had backed a Conservative himself with all the force he could command, he could not resist quoting with approval the following from The Globe:

"Will Mr. John A. Macdonald please come to the rescue and tell the poor disconsolates who still cling to his coattails, what he will do? He has the reputation of being an eminently ingenious man, and, as one of his enthusiastic supporters once described him, he is a cat with nine lives. It is this belief which supports his admirers now amid all their afflictions: they cling to it as drowning men to straws. They believe that he has vet some dodge in reserve, some double-shuffle trick, some nicely pre-arranged distribution of the cards. In fact, not a few rather incline to think that, for some reason or other,-to a comprehension of which they do not pretend,—he likes the present look of affairs. But unless he makes haste, they will lose all confidence and pitch him overboard. We, who are perfectly impartial, can afford to wait, but they cannot. As it appears to us, for all his boasted generalship, he has brought his party to about as low an ebb as the most bungling political leader could possibly do. Mr. Cartier can yet bring up a compact phalanx. Not so large as it once was, yet one of which he may boast. However unworthy, he has at least manoeuvred so as to gain the confidence of his countrymen. John Alexander has manoeuvred and lost. His chief captains have been cut off. Sergeant John Hillyard Cameron, it is true, remains and may give some strength, but with that exception the trains are gone. No longer can he, with all his effrontery pretend that he is able to meet his Lower Canadian allies upon equal terms. We do not care to be thought curious, but we would like to know what excuse he has to offer to Monsieur Cartier for the results which have followed that once much bepraised, but now sadly be-cursed non-confidence motion of his. It will require a tremendous display of trickery on his part, once more to redeem his character."

Neither The Globe nor the editor of The North American proved to be very good prophets, for within twelve months both papers had a demonstration that all of the nine lives of John A. were not yet exhausted, and were called upon to chronicle the fact that he had not been pitched overboard, but was received into a new Coalition

Government side by side with the cherished political idols of The Globe.

One would hardly recognize Sir Richard Cartwright as the same individual as is referred in the following editorial note of September 2nd:

"Mr. Cartwright has found his natural channel, fossil Conservatism, and while this country sends him to Parliament he will be found in the same place. His speech on the defences of the Province, as quoted in the Morning Chronicle is a rehash of his speeches about the county, where he portrayed the danger of an aggressive war by the Americans, and the necessity of immediate and full preparation for it."

The House had not been in session three weeks before trouble arose in the government ranks in readjusting the portfolios and the majority was reduced to two. The North American sounded the note of warning, and asked: "Is not some reconstruction possible?"

## The Provisional Council of the County of Lennox and Addington

The provisional council was not long in assuming the duties of their new offices. The following is from the issue of September 16th:

"The first meeting of the Provisional Council was held on Thursday last, as directed by the Governor's Proclamation. All the Reeves and Deputies were present, Mr. Stevenson occupying the chair. Mr. Warner moved the appointment of Mr. Stevenson as Provisional Warden, and it was carried without opposition. Wm. V. Detlor, Esq., was appointed County Clerk, and Edmund Hooper, Esq., County Treasurer. An appropriation of \$20,000 was voted for County Buildings, and the Council meets again in October to select a site for the Court House and Jail. An Executive Committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Stevenson, Warner, Ham, Lapum, Perry, Sexsmith and J. J. Watson."

#### Review of 1863

. We find very little more worthy of reproduction until

the first number of 1864. Among his other reviews, the editor sums up the position in Europe as follows:

"The year that has passed, has been a momentous one in the world's history, not so much perhaps, for the great revolution it has effected, as for the important moves, political and otherwise, originating with it, which are soon destined to have a lasting and important bearing on the future of our history. In the great political arena, from which, as a colony, we are almost entirely excluded, we find a general restlessness which is a sure forerunner of some important change. Russia, whose growth of late has been amazing, has been and still is in serious trouble with her Polish subjects, and while from the emancipation edict and other liberal proclivities, we were lead to expect a humane and forbearing course from her, we must yet admit that the cruel Scythian spirit is still predominant and the liberal minds of the world are earnestly wishing that these revolutionists may vet succeed in effecting a dismemberment of the Empire.

"The one man in Europe towards whom all seem to cast their eyes when trouble is brewing, Napoleon, is now apparently in as much of a quandary as any who direct their steps after his leadership. He is generally suspected and although possessed of immense power, he is nevertheless pampered with conflicting interests and circumstances, which prevent him in some manner from pursuing all the nefarious schemes he may propose.

"When we cross the ocean we reach a struggle which now almost engrosses the attention of the world, the American Civil War. The same noble and determined course of the North to put down slavery, and the same courageous but misdirected efforts of the South to maintain it, continue. The struggle has scarcely abated, but is confined to a more limited ground than formerly. Gradually wrong is yielding to right, and although the death struggle may be hard, yet to death this monstrous evil is doomed, and sooner or later dissolution must inevitably take place."

#### War in Europe

In the issue of January 20th, 1864, there appeared the following forecast, which eventually proved all too true:

"The state of affairs in Europe as seen by the latest intelligence received, bears every indication of war, Germany having already made advances towards the Danes, but as yet no collision or struggle has taken place, nevertheless the appearances of an amicable arrangement and settlement of the existing difficulties, other than by the shedding of blood, seems to be entirely beyond the hopes of any. The Danish people are apparently much in favor of war and the sympathy they expect and receive from England, coupled with the support they would undoubtedly get from their brother of Sweden and Norway, do much towards nerving them to a bold resistance of any intrusion upon their rights as a nation. The grasping avaricious character of the French Emperor is here again very apparent; his long pent up desire of extending his empire to the shores of the Rhine is now looking out and becoming more visible as he imagines his chances of success better."

#### The Ministry, Will It Live?

Europe was threatened with a devastating war involving several countries, the United States was engaged in a bloody fratricidal struggle. Mexico had been subjugated by France and a deputation was tendering the crown of the new empire on this continent to Archduke Maximilian of Austria. We in Canada were not free from trouble. The tenure of the new government was becoming more precarious day by day, and no easy solution of the difficulty seemed to be forthcoming. In the issue of February 10th, the editor laments the unsettled condition of affairs:

"This is now an everyday question, and anxious knots of amateur politicians are daily gathered about every street corner, giving the question a coloring according to their individual feelings or prejudice. The present Reform Government, it is well known, have worked their way under circumstances of extreme difficulty and the political horizon is as much clouded now as ever. They, last session, met

Parliament after a General Election with only a majority of 2 or 3 votes, and by an unexampled attendance of members, carried through the business and retained office.

"Perhaps none have been better pleased than ourselves with many acts of the present administration and on numerous occasions we have unhesitatingly declared our confidence in its integrity and honesty. It has done much towards reducing the expense of Government and placing us on a good financial footing, but we believe there are few who desire to see the scenes of last session enacted over again. Such political canvassing and coaxing, such tremendous exertions of the OUTS to get IN, and the INS to stay IN were never before seen, and during such seasons as this the business of the country must be neglected. Men who should devote their undivided attention to the best interests of their constituents waste valuable time in endeavours to influence the Goddess of Fortune to favor the one or the other political party with which they are identified. Such has been, almost without interruption, the position of affairs since the accession to power of the present administration, and is now becoming a grave question whether it should last longer."

#### The New County Council

"Now that the Municipal elections are over, we suppose that there will be no delay in erecting the buildings necessary for county purposes so that we may soon become a totally distinct county without any reference at all to the senior county of Frontenac. It is not to be denied that the people of Newburgh felt much chagrined and disappointed at losing the County Town, without any appeal to a popular vote, but that question is gone and no amount of agitation would now be likely to have the least effect on the matter, and since one question is settled, by what means it is not our province to herald. It now becomes the duty of every man to aim to burden the county as little as possible with a county debt, in this the beginning of our career. In the building of the Court House in Kingston, a vast amount of money was lavished and an expenditure indulged in that should be a timely warning to our local legislators.

final settlement with Frontenac, which must soon take place, we will experience the dire effects of this extravagance for it will be all but impossible to get anything like an adequate value for the immense pile of buildings owned by the counties. If the matter is managed judiciously, we may by the gift of the county property, begin life nearly clear from encumbrance, save what is expended in our own affairs.

"The bitter feeling in Frontenac against the separation will be apt to create a great difficulty in the way of an amicable settlement of the county business, as we may be sure they will carefully guard anything that will directly or indirectly, militate against their local interests. If, however, anything imprudent is done, on our own ground we will have our own representatives to blame, and with the store of past experience to teach them, any error on their part will be almost inexcusable. The county needs good substantial buildings and they are not able to pay too high a price for them, and we believe there is hardly a member of the county council who will not faithfully work for the accomplishment of so desirable an end."

From the issue of February 17th, we learn that the provisional council for Lennox and Addington had met and transacted a good deal of important business, including the adoption of plans for a new court house and gaol, and the advertising for tenders for their erection. The editor seemed to have the faculty of correctly sizing up the situation in foreign countries. In one editorial he laments the threatening war cloud in Europe. Germany had delivered a bullying ultimatum to Denmark demanding the evacuation of Schleswig. Denmark relying upon the probability of England intervening and the sympathy of France, Sweden, Italy and Russia, was not disposed to submit. Prussia and Austria, on the other hand, backed up Germany. Archduke Maximilian could not refuse the tempting offer of the crown of the new Empire of Mexico. and The North American with a true prophetic genius, warns him of his probable fate in the following brief editorial:

"Maximilian has finally accepted the Crown of Mexico

and will soon sail for his new dominions. Whether Napoleon's policy of placing a Prince on a Mexican throne will be as satisfactory as he hoped is yet to be seen. Mexico is one of the most thoroughly unreliable of all nationalities, and it will be little short of a miracle if the new Emperor makes any better headway than the different presidents have in the last twelve or thirteen years."

As The North American did not continue publication to chronicle the accuracy of its prediction, we might here mention that the ill-advised Archduke did not prove to be an exception to the rule that the average reign of the Mexican rulers at that time was about two years, and the reign generally terminated in banishment or execution. Maximilian was hurled from the throne by the Republican forces and shot at Queretaro on June 19th, 1867.

From the latter part of February, 1864, there was no lack of material to engage the editor's pen and he took full advantage of it all, and besides publishing copious reports of the events of the day he gave his readers the benefit of his views upon the various topics. War had broken out in Europe and Parliament was again in session.

#### War

"Our readers will observe by the telegraphic reports in another column, to which we have devoted a large space, that war has already commenced in Europe, but as yet we have no very definite news as to the result, the Germans evidently keeping back the news, although, while the Danes are single handed, there can be but little doubt of the finale. England is just now in a neutral position, much to the chagrin of Denmark, but we scarcely think she will maintain this attitude when the integrity of Denmark is threatened. However, we cannot even imagine any peacable termination to the present complications."

How like the comments of the press when the news of the outbreak of the Great War first reached us!

#### **Parliament**

"The Provincial Parliament opened on Friday last in

Quebec. The speech from the throne, which we give in another place, refers to many important subjects, which, if the government are not defeated, will probably be adjusted in some manner before the House is prorogued. There are rumours of changes of the Administration by admitting Mr. Bell of Russell as Provincial Secretary, Mr. Ferguson Blair becoming Solicitor General West.

"The Globe is not at all pleased at this prospect and seems to be confident that it will not succeed with the Upper Canada supporters of the Administration. As usual at the opening of parliament, Quebec is full of all sorts of rumors with regard to politics, and each party is confident of supremacy. Of course no one knows with certainty what will be the end, but we do not wish to see the scenes of last session repeated. We have not heard yet whether the opposition will move amendments to the address or not, but there is a rumor that they will test the Government on their financial policy and not on the address. If they are guilty of so much propriety as this it will be the first offence of the kind."

#### Our County Buildings

"It is with much satisfaction that we observe the near prospect of our county buildings being placed under contract. The plans as amended and adopted seem to meet with general approval, and we trust that nothing may occur to mar a satisfactory arrangement as regards the contracts and the ultimate completion of the whole within the required time."

In the issue of March 9th, appears a full report of a two days' session of the Provisional County Council, at which the various tenders for building the Court House and Gaol were considered. They varied from \$31500.00 to \$42089.00. The contract was awarded to John Forin, of Belleville, for \$33146.00.

#### To Advertisers

We were somewhat surprised to find that the issue of May 12th was published in Picton instead of Newburgh, and

in a leading editorial, the writer explains his appearance in Picton but assigns no reason for quitting Newburgh.

"As for our appearance, we would only say that for a long time two public papers have been supported in Picton, other business has increased at least four-fold, and we give the people of the county sufficient credit for public spirit, to trust them for a generous patronage, if the object is really deserving. We shall at all times, earnestly strive to maintain a consistent course, without respect to parties or personal affinities; on all occasions to denounce wrong and uphold right, and while we take this course, fearlessly, though we are perfectly aware that we will make enemies, we are convinced that we will meet the approval of all right thinking people, whose minds are biased rather towards right than interest."

Evidently Newburgh did not appreciate the efforts of the McMullen Bros. to maintain a local press in the village, and if they found that their venture there was not a paying one, it was quite natural that they should try their fortune in Picton, which was their native town.

The paper retained the same advertisements that appeared in it when published in Newburgh, probably because the period over which the advertising contracts were to run had not yet expired, but there were no further news items in its columns touching upon local affairs in Lennox and Addington. It is quite refreshing, however, to read the terse and sensible comments of the editor upon the general news of the day, and particularly the political situation in Canada. They give us a fair glimpse at history in the making during a most important crisis in the political development of our country. He sums up the advance of General Grant as follows:

#### The American War

"The victorious army of the Potomac still reports success. Gen. Grant is clearing away obstacles on the way to Richmond, which he is rapidly nearing. Several encounters have taken place in the last few days, and the slaughter has been terrible, the Federals admitting 15,000

wounded. On the South Gen. Butler has defeated Beauregard, and is within ten miles of Richmond, the losses on both sides are heavy, but the advantage is with the North, every time. On the whole the tide of fortune seems turned against J. Davis & Co., and the Southern Bubble, so manfully fought for, must soon collapse."

#### General Grant

In a subsequent issue the reader's attention is directed to the following picture of the leader of the Northern army:

"A clergyman writes from the army of the Potomac of an interview with Lieutenant General Grant, whom he met sitting in a once elegant mansion, with a New York paper in his hand, quietly enjoying his cigar:—'Like everyone else who meets him, we were charmed with his quiet, modest simplicity and manly bearing. He is a low voiced, diffident man with fair skin and brown hair-locks younger even than Fremont and talks slowly like one used to keeping his own secrets. He says he never had a headache. God grant he may have no headache during the coming eventful month. When I rallied him pleasantly about the traditional cigar, which he used as Napoleon did the snuff-box, he smilingly replied, 'When the war is over I am going to give it up'. He has the most undoubted confidence in the troops. In every tent we hear the same spontaneous testimony'."

In the interval between the dates of the last number published in Newburgh, March 16th, and the first number published in Picton, May 12th, the government of John Sandfield Macdonald, unable any longer to command a majority of votes in the House, resigned on the 21st of March. The Governor, Lord Monck, was at his wits' end. It seemed a difficult task to form any government that could long remain in office. The tension between the two provinces was increasing every day. He tendered the honor of forming a ministry to two different ex-ministers but each in turn failed to select a cabinet. He then turned to the much abused "Corruptionists", Sir Etienne Tache and John A. Macdonald, who for the second time assumed the reins. The North American in its first Picton issue,

gives its readers an indication of its views upon the combination:

#### **Parliamentary**

"The acceptance of office by a new Government, the re-election of its members and their meeting Parliament has been a political topic for the last few weeks, and as a motion of want of confidence is soon to be moved, we will probably be fully satiated with political squabbling this summer as we were last. What the prospects of the stability of the ministry are, we do not know, but it must be a matter of regret that political revolutions should be so frequent in Canada. As regards the present House, it is perfectly plain that conducting a Government with it, is a delicate piece of business, and nearly every political prophet looks forward to a general election as imminent.

"How the present administration would stand in the event of an appeal to the country is a matter of great doubt; there are several of its members not at all popular in Upper Canada, and the vote of her constituencies in the aggregate would be averse to it; on the other hand, in the Lower Province, the opposite would be the case, but which side would get the largest sectional majority is always a matter of uncertainty. For our part, we believe that no strong Government can be formed till some understanding is arrived at, whereby sectional issues will be, to a certain extent, abandoned, and the violent personal differences now existing amicably settled."

Although the editor's sanctum had been shifted, and his paper no longer touched upon matters of local interest in Lennox and Addington, yet we cannot forbear reproducing a few more editorials touching upon the political crisis at Quebec. These articles give the history of that crisis an interesting personal touch, and the able manner in which the editor handled the public questions of the day might well serve as a guide to many present day editors of our Provincial newspapers.

The Tache-Macdonald Government was having a tempestuous time with their ship of state. They would no sooner weather one storm than they would encounter

another. We are familiar with the facts of those preconfederation days as we read them in our histories, but in these editorials written at a time when the future was in doubt and men were gathering in groups on the street corners and wondering what would happen next, we get some idea of the nervous strain that the statesmen of that time were undergoing. Here we have an editor in a small country town who feels the responsibility of his position. He has his political favorites but realizes that the time has come when there must be a change. The affairs of the union between Upper and Lower Canada had not been running smoothly for years. Nearly everyone was convinced that one government could not legislate in all matters for both provinces, yet owing to their geographical position and mutual commercial interests, they could not very well be wholly separated. Some sort of union was necessary. What was it to be? The bad blood aroused by the frequent dissolutions did not make the task of solving the problem an easy one. We can read between the lines of the following editorials that apprehension that all was not well. 'The question that seemed to loom up large on the political horizon was, "what next?" To add to the difficulty of the situation, the finances of the country were in bad shape with no immediate prospect of improvement. were four view-points of the crisis, none of which could be disregarded:—the racial, religious, economic and political. Well might the editor of a small country newspaper quake before them. The more we read such editorials as are here reproduced, the more respect will we have for the Fathers of Confederation who sank their political differences, grappled with the question and laid a firm foundation for our Dominion which has awakened the admiration and envy of the statesmen of the world when confronted with similar complications.

#### Fall of the Ministry

"The Tache-Macdonald Government were defeated on Tuesday night last by a majority of 2, the votes standing 60 to 58. We would give the yeas and nays, only that in the report furnished by the Globe we find, on counting, that there are but 52 names given among the nays. The question was on an amendment to go into a Committee of Supply, moved by Mr. A. A. Dorion to condemn the \$100,000 transaction with the City of Montreal and the Grand Trunk Railway. Messrs. Rankin and Dunkin voted yea on the amendment. The motion was accepted as one of Want of Confidence, and it is likely that a dissolution will take place, though we have not yet heard."

#### A Coalition

"Last week we made the announcement that the Tache-Macdonald Government were defeated, and gave as our opinion, in accordance with the generally conceived impression that dissolution of the house would take place. The events of the past week, however, have completely revolutionized the political horizon, and led many to even doubt the evidence of their own senses.

"Shortly after the defeat of the administration, Mr. J. A. Macdonald and Mr. Galt called on Mr. George Brown, who has so long and strenuously opposed them; Mr. Brown promptly responded to the call and a basis for the settlement of our sectional and constitutional difficulties was at once broached and discussed.

"Announcements are being made from day to day by the Government and Mr. Brown, as to the success and progress of affairs, and it is likely that a final settlement was made yesterday, Wednesday afternoon.

"To say that the announcement by Mr. Macdonald, of the fact that the negotiations were going on with Mr. Brown took the House and country by surprise, would be a weak form of expression, the matter completely astounded everybody, as the universal opinion was, that the disputes of former years had made an impassable breach between Mr. Brown and the members of the old Coalition Government.

"After more mature reflection, however, the general opinion seems to be that the step was wise and the prospect of a speedy and permanent settlement of our difficulties by a federal union, as is proposed is gratefully hailed as a relief from the continual agitation and disputing of the last seven or eight years.

"Thus far, it is admitted on all hands, the proceedings have been conducted with the utmost candor and fairness, and the disinterested conduct of the members of the Government, as well as Mr. Brown, is highly creditable to their loyal devotion to the true interests of the country.

"In agreeing upon a federal union as a basis of the settlement of our constitutional difficulties, we believe that the only feasible one has been selected; not that it will be the most advantageous to Upper Canada, but is more fair on the whole, than any other.

"It would be premature to give the proposed policy in anything like detail, as it has not yet been officially announced; but we would merely remark that each province will have a separate Legislature for local matters and then a General Legislative body, as well as a Government for the management of affairs pertaining to both provinces, and in the lower branch of the general body the representation will be based on population.

"This is an outline of the scheme as proposed, and so far it meets with a hearty approval, although there are some mal-contents.

"We believe it is the plain duty of every good citizen to at least give the new arrangement a fair and impartial trial, watch closely their administrative acts, as well as their legislative movements, and if they honestly and fairly endeavour to remedy the existing evils and smooth the ill-feeling between the two sections, give them an open and hearty support; and on the other hand, if their course is one of selfish aggrandizement, and their talk of devotion and self-sacrifice merely a sham, we would be among the first to put forth our little assistance to doom them as public men. But the risk, under the circumstances, would be too great for anything but an open and guileless proceeding for the characters of everyone concerned would be blasted forever, were the least semblance of double-dealing to be discovered.

"They have undertaken a vast responsibility, and while they set themselves to the performance of the task no factious obstacles should be thrown in the way; let them be closely watched, and rigorously judged, not by the past history of any one of them, but exclusively on their merits."

#### **Coalitions**

"Now that the surprise of the Canadian people has somewhat subsided, after the remarkable political revolution of the last two weeks, it may be well for everyone to calmly ask himself the question: "What may be expected from such a fusion?" For our part, when the news of a probable coalition between Messrs. Brown, Galt, Cartier and John A. Macdonald arrived, we were perfectly incredulous and even when it became beyond the possibility of a doubt, we could scarcely credit our eye-sight. So determined and violent has been the conduct of these men towards each other for years past that an understanding between them seemed almost impossible.

"But now that it has been fully, clearly, and definitely explained and the reasons fairly and we believe honestly given, we must admire the self-abnegation which prompted the furtherance of negotiations to so successful an issue.

"To take the history of the men most prominent in bringing about the formation of this coalition, and look at the palpably inconsistent position in which it places them, we can easily understand how readily their motives are questioned by many.

"First comes Mr. John A. Macdonald who has been in Parliament since 1843; he entered a strong Conservative, and violently opposed Responsible Government, and every approach to Constitutional Reform. This continued up to 1854 and in the meantime the Clergy Reserve question was agitating the country and had been the means of destroying many public men. Mr. Macdonald had all along opposed any settlement which would deprive the Established Church of the lands. In 1854 however, upon the formation of the Coalition Government, the same John A. Macdonald was the very man to take up this matter and put it finally to rest; and if he ever did a good act, he did it then. It is not necessary to follow him through the various corrupt acts of his famous eight years tenure of office. They are too well known to need any further ventilation. Many men before him have, under extreme necessity, given way to the exorbitant demands of clamorous and unprincipled supporters. At the present time he stands admitted by all parties, after a chequered political life, to be the most consummate parliamentary tactician that Canada has ever seen.

"Following him let us take a look at the great bugbear of the habitants, the man who has been represented to the simple hearted French Canadians as ready at any time to see them and their institutions, with all they hold dear, mercilessly immolated on the altar of Upper Canada; who has been pictured to their imaginations as at all times but watching for an opportunity to completely wipe out Lower Canada and place it beyond this mundane sphere. Mr. George Brown, since coming to Canada has always been an extreme man, and by that means has been debarred from ever occupying positions of trust and responsibility, and considering his great ability, this has often been a cause of regret among his friends. He assisted to destroy Mr. Hinck's Government, and then in turn violently denounced John A. and his colleagues of the Coalition; and his immense direct influence in Upper Canada may be judged from the fact that over 40 members now represent Upper Canada constituencies, who were elected to further the views, in the main, held and advocated by Mr. Brown. That Mr. Brown has sometimes allowed his personal feelings to get the better of his judgment, we readily believe, and being a man of strong prejudices he has often committed grave errors; but many have noticed with pleasure, that the last two or three years have softened to some extent, the asperities of his temper, and modified in some degree his extreme political views.

"In fostering and keeping alive sectional prejudices, perhaps no man more resembles Mr. Brown than Mr. G. E. Cartier, whom we will reckon as third in our category.

"Violently and exclusively, French Canadian in all his sympathies, he has long been the favorite representative of the Church party in Lower Canada. A rebel in 1837, he is now super-loyal in all his professions, and we must admit that for years past no act of his can be construed to divest us of the belief that he is sincere in his present

professions. Mr. Cartier holds a high place in the affections of his fellow-countrymen, but this much cannot be said of him in Upper Canada and indeed it may surprise the sturdy yeomanry of this Province how he and Mr. Brown, who may be looked upon as the leaders of our sectional parties, can quietly and comfortably come to an agreement after years of such violent and merciless denunciation.

"Of Mr. T. A. Galt it may be said, that being an English member from Lower Canada he has never been so mixed up with the sectional and religious matters as some others. We would only say, however, in order to show that almost every man may commit inconsistent acts, that he signed the Annexation Manifesto in 1849, while he now ranks as a Conservative of the first water. It is chiefly with his administrative acts that fault is found, and extravagance and corruption boldly charged.

"But in considering the question of coalition we must divest ourselves to some extent of the past history of the men who are intimately concerned in it, and impartially consider it on its merits.

"It is well known that the question of representative reform has been a leading one in Upper Canada for years and has been the main cause of all the bad feeling engendered between the two Provinces, and the basis and first cause of this apparently incongruous union is to settle. and that forever, this question. It was truthfully stated by both parties to the matter that nothing but a determination to arrange this difficulty would justify their meeting for combined political action. And from the explanation given in another place from the official paper. it will be seen that an earnest effort will at once be made for a satisfactory solution and the details are sufficiently fore-shadowed to promise a measure of great importance. The Government, when the reconstruction takes place will embrace the ablest men in the country, men who are perfectly acquainted with the workings of our political system, and who actuated as we believe they are by a desire manfully to meet and overcome the difficulties of the situation, will devote their energies fully to the work and thus setting at rest that continued agitation which has sacrificed many of our brightest minds as well as squandered millions of our public money.

"So long as this is done, they deserve support, for surely no one is anxious to see repeated the continued state of uncertainty of which the past two years have furnished an example. It is demoralizing as well as disgraceful and almost any remedy should be gladly hailed. Let us free our minds from any consideration of who it is that settles it and merely watch how it is done, and what are the prospects for the success of the plan adopted.

"The charge of bad faith has already been preferred, or at least that a sufficient guarantee has not been given. To this it need only be said that in creating such a revolution the parties concerned ran a great risk, and any semblance of duplicity would justly condemn them to the execration of the people, and forever drive them from public life.

"To every Reformer there will be one regret in thus associating politically with those whom we have for years opposed, and that is the necessary separation from the gallant band of Liberals from Lower Canada under the leadership of Mr. Dorion. They have for years stood by Upper Canada and their chivalrous self-denial, for self-denial it was, has earned for them a high place in the hearts of Reformers in this Province, and while their opposition is sincere, it will, we hope, be divested of all taint of personal feeling and that no overt act of hostility on the part of either will ever cause them to be regarded by us with anything but the most profound respect and esteem."

#### **Federation**

"It would certainly be premature to discuss in detail a measure of so complex a nature as the one given in our heading, but nevertheless the revolution of the last few weeks has made it a matter for each to think about, and calmly and dispassionately arrive at a conclusion whether in his mind it is likely to prove efficacious in quieting our difficulties and settling our constitutional mistakes. It may not be improper to give an epitome of our political history,

as far as this is concerned, since the Union, in order that we may see clearly what has brought on the existing state of affairs. In 1840 when the Union, which has created so many difficulties and so much contention and strife, urged on by the Imperial Government was effected, Lower Canada possessed a large preponderance in population and this was the cause of so much grumbling by the French Canadian members, as it unjustly gave Upper Canada too large a share in the management of public affairs and the expenditure of money. But it was then urged as an antirevolutionary measure, and mainly carried by outside pressure. In the course of a few years, however, as the fertile West began to be known, and the superiority of climate and soil better appreciated and taken advantage of Upper Canada began to fill up until it first balanced and then surpassed Lower, and this fact, coupled with some jealousies and animosities gave rise to the sectional cry of Representation by Population. Some parties have even gone so far as to say that a dissolution of the Union, pure and simple, would be preferable to the present state of the case, but the folly of this will at once be seen when we look at the geographical position of both provinces, and fancy how Upper Canada would keep good her passage to the sea and Lower her connection with the grain ports of the West. But this very reasonable request for Representation by Population has often been advocated in so partisan a manner, and even the religious professions of the Lower Canadians held as a ground why Upper Canada should be no longer deprived of her fair representation, that the question has almost become a matter of conscience with the Roman Catholics, and thus the bitterness and acerbity which have attended many of the debates on the subject at various times in the House.

"But for the last few years it has been evident, even to the most enthusiastic supporters of the measure, that without some compromise it would be impossible to carry it; and even Mr. Brown who may be almost looked upon as the father of the scheme, has repeatedly declared that he was ready and willing to accept any compromise which would give this Province her fair share of justice, and

declaring at the same time that he had no desire to interfere in any way with the peculiar institutions of our neighbours. It will be remembered that during the last session Mr. Brown succeeded in having a committee of 20 leading members of the House, of all shades of political opinions, appointed to take into consideration our difficulties, and report upon a scheme which they deemed most expedient as a permanent basis for final settlement. committee, which embraced Messrs. Brown, Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, McDougall and Mowat, the most prominent members of the new Cabinet in the Assembly, reported nearly unanimously in favor of a Federal Union of all the British North American Provinces, there being but three dissenting voices. Indeed the measure is by no means new; Mr. Galt has long advocated it and when the probable results are carefully scanned it will be seen that it is a most important as well as advantageous change for us. be sure the particulars of the measure are not fully arranged, but such is the general desire for it here as well as in the Lower Provinces that we look for a speedy and satisfactory basis. In this plan, of course, Upper Canada being the most numerously populated, of any of the contracting states, will have the largest representation in the lower branch of the proposed General Legislature, and consequently the heaviest share of influence. Some indeed are found who think that it will positively injure us to be connected with the poorer Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, etc., but a glance at their balance sheets would at once dispel any such illusions, and even should our material resources give us any great advantage over them yet the inevitable incorporation of the North West Territory and also British Columbia and Vancouver's Island with their vast undeveloped wealth would more than counter-balance any such drawback.

"It must be truly pleasing to any truly loyal Canadian to think that while a fearful civil war is raging among our immediate neighbours, with true devotion to the British Crown we are on the eve of a bloodless revolution, the results of which will be to raise Canada from a mere Province to the chief corner stone in the great British North American nation.

"Such a prospect deserves the most earnest attention of our public men, and while they are earnestly and faithfully working to accomplish it, none but the disappointed and the jealous will try to throw serious obstacles in their way. Their labors should be closely watched, but so long as they sincerely endeavour to carry out their pledges every possible leniency should be shown and we mistake Upper Canadians if they do not most effectually frown down any attempts at a factious opposition to the first real display of statesmanship which we have seen for years."

## LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### PAPERS AND RECORDS

VOL. XII

THE NAPANEE STANDARD 1862-3

COMPILED AND EDITED

By WALTER S. HERRINGTON, K.C., F.R.S.C.

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#### INTRODUCTION

In our last volume we published extracts from The North American, a journalistic venture of two brothers, G. W. and I. B. McMullen. The chief cause of the failure of this paper to secure a lasting foothold in this county was the existence of The Standard, a rival and well established weekly in Napanee, also conducted by two brothers, Thomas S. and Alex. Henry. A more extended reference to The Standard will be found in Volume X of our publications, "Newspapers of the County." In our archives we have a fairly complete file of The Standard but in this volume we propose dealing only with those issues covering the same period as the issues of the North American referred to in our last volume. The county has reason to be proud of having produced two such excellent papers. period 1862-3 was one of momentous interest not only to Canada and the North American continent but the whole world. was a period of political transition for many countries. period of great suspense; a period calling for statesmanship of the highest order. It is most interesting to note how these great events were treated by the press of the day. By a careful study of the editorials we get an insight into the daily lives and thoughts of our forefathers and see history in the making at close range. These two papers of over sixty years ago when compared with the country press of to-day will lose nothing by the process. Both as to the dissemination of news and editorial views upon the leading events they are vastly superior to our average weekly.

W. S. HERRINGTON.



# Extracts from The Napanee Standard, 1862-3

For years the leading men of Lennox and Addington had felt that the interests of our county were not well served by continuing our connection with Frontenac, but no active steps were taken to bring about a separation until The Standard in its issue of August 28th, 1862, threw down the gauntlet in a leading editorial from which we extract the following:—

#### County of Lennox and Addington

The position of this important County is not what its capabilities might make it—not what evident destiny calls that we as its inhabitants should make it.

It is possible for the best means to be unused. The best facilities unemployed will be of no avail to raise either family, individual or community in the scale of human progress. Means are availably good only as mind and energy are brought to bear in their proper employment. The materials and facilities are, it may be, providential or fortuitous—men may have little to do in influencing these—they exist independent of him—they are like his own existence, or his birth-place, or the circumstances in which he enters the world, not of his own making. But in the scenes of busy life, associated as man is with the various circumstances of his existence, it is for him faithfully to ply his energies in order to make the best of the advantages with which he is surrounded for his own advantage and the elevation of the race.

Drones will lose the best chances for want of activity; their time lies heavily upon them; they are disgusted with the hum and bustle of the busy world, and as they drag themselves along, always distanced by progress, they complain that the world will not let them dose out their existence as they desire. The shabby, unpainted house, the rickety fence, the dilapidated outbuildings, the fumes of decomposing matter around the premises outside, and the housekeeping and furniture, etc., of fifty years ago, inside, are the manifestations of this state of feeling in the individual; and add a number of such men and establishments together, and you have a community got up on this

principle. Dormant energies of mind, with bodily indications telling of its existence. A war of sluggish nature with the advance of civilization and the improvement of the race.

This state of things in the individual and in the community must be avoided. Progress is the destiny of the race; and this is especially true in this growing country. Our County is not far behind the best and most enterprising in this fair land, but it must not be forgotten, that there are difficulties which must be removed ere we can fully enjoy the advantage of the facilities afforded us for improvement.

Look at our County geographically, or statistically; look at it in the length of time which it has been settled, or in the wealth and intelligence of its inhabitants, or in what view you please, and compare it with other counties possessing all the privileges and advantages of independent counties, and tell us, does it suffer in comparison with them? We think not.

We must have our County set off from Frontenac—we should be no longer compelled to feed the latter with our business, as we must do, so long as we remain in our present situation.

The effect of remaining as we now are is, that we are stultified in our own estimation, as well as in the estimation of others. Indeed, it appears that the Kingstonians are disposed almost to ignore our existence but as a sort of trifling appendage to their great County. Notwithstanding a very large export and import business done both at our port and railroad depot, some of the newspapers of our indulgent mother city would have our port closed, as regular port of entry, and would have us trudge to Kingston to do our excise duty, as well as to attend court, and do other necessary business. The truth is, although we are equally important and wealthy with them, they have come to the conclusion that we think little of ourselves, and as a consequence they can use us as they see fit. To stand up firmly for our position—to ask for a separate existence and have it, is our plain duty, and must be done before Lennox and Addington can attain to that lofty position of which it is capable.

To speak of the expense to which we would be driven in the erection of buildings, support of a full staff of County officials, etc., etc., is to talk of refusing to take a step which, whatever may be the present cost, will remunerate before the County has time fully to organize. Remuneration will arise in many ways, but the actual increase of value of property in the County alone will more than counterbalance all the expenditure which would be necessitated at the beginning of our separate existence. We go for secession, and are pleased to know that the constitution does not deny it to us, but has made provision for it.

We trust that our citizens generally, and our municipalities in their corporate capacity, will take action in this matter, and that we shall soon see Lennox and Addington, in some chosen, and favorably situated centre, adorned and beautified with such County buildings as may be deemed requisite.

The honor due to our ancestors, and the interests of this fine County demand it, and we look soon to know that the enterprise of our people expressed in a legitimate way has secured it.

We can afford to devote some space to the affairs of the neighbouring republic as this was the most critical period in its history. Canadians could not shut their eyes to the awful struggle that was going on at their very door, and as the British Parliament had seriously discussed the wisdom of intervention the question was of vital interest to Canada. The editor in a masterly editorial of September 11th lays bare the situation from a Canadian standpoint. It will be seen that the editor had a pretty clear grasp of the situation when it is borne in mind that Lincoln's proclamation for Emancipation was not issued until the week following the appearance of this editorial:—

#### The North and South

The chances of war are various, and depend upon circumstances which cannot be observed in advance, and against which it is impossible fully to prepare. But there are some things which may be said to be essential to success, ordinarily, and some features of a cause which a priori argue against the likelihood of a favorable issue.

The first and most important element likely to secure triumph is a good cause, or, it may be, confidence in the goodness of our cause; for it matters but little after all, whether the cause is really worthy, so that we have confidence in it. Having large personal interests at stake will sometimes come in to brace us to a successful encounter, even where our cause is bad.

To have extensive legislative knowledge, with executive powers untrammelled by the popular will, is almost essential to success in any enterprise. When legislation is hasty, rash, shortsighted, or executive action tardy, hesitating, spasmodic, almost invariably failure and disgrace will ensue.

In the pending struggle between the northern and southern sections of the United States, we are led to witness a state of things in which we find illustration of the above remarks.

The South inaugurated this sanguinary encounter. They had controlled the North in legislation, etc., for years: and especially to secure protection and extension to their peculiar institution had they succeeded in the most highhanded measures. They had made those States in which slave labor had exhausted the soil, and rendered it unfit to produce tobacco and cotton, slave-breeding states, the produce of which, sold under the auctioneer's hammer. were sent farther south and west to break up and till the immense and unbounded prairies of that vast region. The home production of slaves had become a business of sufficient emolument to keep such men as General Lee in affluence in their Virginian palaces. They lolled in ease on their couches, fanned by Toby's and Cuffy's, servants "born in their own houses," and their wenches raised the stock, on the sale of which they lived at ease. Selfishness had so wrought itself into their sordid souls that every feeling of humanity had forsaken them. They became worse than brute in their practices. Their own sons and daughters, their nephews and nieces and grandchildren were sold into dismal captivity. Some of the fairest of women were purchased with intent to prostitute them, and when lust was satiated, sell them again to similar monsters, to run a round of sickening debauchery till death liberated them from that which is worse than death.

The most sacred ties of family relationship were ruthlessly torn asunder, and when the man would now and then speak out, his utterances were punished with the most cruel flagellations and scourgings, or with death inflicted without thought of trial, and in the most summary way.

The white man who dared to assert the wrong of these infernal transactions, was regarded and treated as a public enemy, denounced and threatened, or without warning, hung on a convenient tree. The minister of the sanctuary

was gagged, and dared not proclaim that gospel in its fullness which is known in its sacred influences to make all men free and equal. The whole North were made bands of negro catchers, and thus compelled to aid and abet the monstrosities of their southern masters. The superior race must thus have its brutal and cruel way, and to attempt to arrest the progress of its iniquity is to cause its instant separation from those whose power might, peradventure, prove corrective of its present course.

Here, and nowhere else is the cause of the war now raging with such violence, and producing such disastrous consequences in the neighboring Republic. Let them claim what they may to be the cause, it is no other than This is the Southern Diana, and their cry is slavery. and has been, in effect, "great is this Diana" of the South, and to save it they will risk, and have risked their all. Treasure and blood have been poured out like water in this ignoble cause. They would live idly. They would have their wants ministered to by their bondmen. They would gratify their lusts, and therefore the ferocity with which they fight against superior numbers and discipline. have not a good cause, but because selfishness prompts, the place is supplied by interest. This is the real case with the South, only partially delineated however.

The North who are second on the scene of action in this struggle, were thought by the friends of humanity to have a good cause. Their effort was supposed to be directed against slavery, at least against its extension. But their course was not definite. They failed to present before the nation an idea sufficient to raise to action the force of the people. Instead of a great and worthy fact, a figment is raised as the object for which the nation must sacrifice and fight. Dominion, an object which might fire the ambition of a one man government, but cannot appeal to the masses, is the object. "Let us preserve the Union." This is the cry of the North. Thousands thought that under this ostensible reason lay another great, important, moving cause, and that this cause would in course of time evolve itself, viz., the destruction of the national curse the removal of the national sin—the purging of the national stain, slavery.

Under the inspiration of this hoped for but undisclosed object, many volunteered, fought bravely and died, while many not in battle strifes paid and prayed for their brothers

and for the success of the cause for which they vainly hoped they were fighting. But there was uncertainty as to the intentions and policy of the North. There was hesitancy in their councils, and want of promptness in their executive, and hence want of success.

But driven to a declaration of their principles, the Northern executive declare their policy, "The Union with slavery intact, or the Union with slavery impaired, or the Union with slavery destroyed, but the Union."

Bosh! say the millions of the North. What! fight, and sacrifice, and suffer, and die by thousands on the gory battlefield for a figment! a name! simple dominion! Not we. The muscle slackens, the nerve loses its activity, the grasp relaxes, and the northern armies, fully equipped and drilled, are driven before the Southern rag-tags; and instead of Richmond being taken, Washington is beleaguered and Maryland is possessed by the enemy of the Northern Government; Kentucky is again the scene of bloodshed, and even Ohio itself is threatened by the slave power. McDowell may be blamed for the first "Bull Run," McClellan for not following the retreat of the rebels from Manassas and making short work of them before they reached their intrenchments at Richmond. Pope may be blamed for want of generalship at the second Bull Run. Regiments may be blamed for retreating without orders, and skedaddling when no foe opposed them. Timid men may be ridiculed for stampeding toward peaceful shores to evade conscription. But it's of no use. There is a cause for all this. When men fight they want something to fight for. Place a sufficient object before them, and generally they will do so. The South have done so for a selfish object; the North have refused, because of the absence of any object. Fremont's views and course adopted and pursued to the utter eschewing of the miserable policy and course of the present administration, and the rebellion would have been crushed, and means inaugurated for the removal of its cause, and the enjoyment of permanent peace by this continent. As it is, while the border states, especially, are suffering for the enormous sin of slavery as it existed, the whole nation is suffering, and must suffer for the tolerance afforded to it, and for their refusal to put forth the hand to remove it, when it was in their power to do so. What the end shall be, deponent saith not, but supposeth that, as the leading forces of the

belligerents are so close together, something final must soon be the result.

In looking back upon this war we are too prone to regard it as a fight for emancipation of the slaves and lose sight of the fact that the real issue was the preservation of the Union and it was not until the war was well under way that Lincoln's proclamation was issued as a means towards that end. In his issue of October 9th, the editor comments upon the effect of the proclamation.

## **Emancipation**

Various have been the conjectures formed as to the effects of the President's proclamation emancipating all slaves found in states and parts of states in rebellion against the United States government on the first of January, 1863.

In the North a large party, heartily favoring the Union cause, feared that the hands of the Confederacy would be strengthened by the border states looking upon the measure as a mark of ingratitude to them, and a recklessness in regard to their interests—that loval citizens of seceding states would feel aggrieved at this additional prospective loss being imposed upon them while they could not be held responsible, in reason, for the conduct of the majority; and that rebels, actually and declaredly such, would be driven to desperation, and would sacrifice and fight more determinedly, seeing the strife was now against a government whose positive intention was to destroy their favorite institution. These effects, however. have not followed to any great extent. The truth is, the border states see in slavery as the cause of this unnatural war, an evil which they must get rid of; and many are not inclined to put the evil day off, but are willing at once to make the sacrifice necessary. They would save the Union even at the sacrifice of the peculiar institution. very well know, that a Union established and cemented on slavery principles cannot be permanent, and that another war breaking out, they must be, as they are now, the greatest sufferers.

The same common sense view appears to be taken by men still loyal to the Union, in seceding states. They know that more lenity has been shown than could have been expected under the circumstances, that the Federal

government has acted toward her subjects in seceding states in the most merciful and indulgent manner, in hope of restoring the authority of the government and the majesty of law, with as little disruption of the social fabric as possible, and that now that the rebellion refuses to vield to mild measures, more severe ones must be resorted to, and are fully justifiable. Society must be reconstructed, as the effects of the war have already been completely disorganizing, and they will not be careful to leave in the reconstructed mass, the very elements which have caused the present disruption and its consequent misery. They are prepared to make sacrifices to secure, in future. a healthy body politic. And the actors in the rebellion instead of being nerved to greater strength by this proclamation, quail before it, because of its moral force, as appealing to their reason, and to their heart, and because it reveals a state of things in the Washington Cabinet, and in the North generally which they were not prepared to receive. They never dreamed either that President Lincoln had courage to take such a step, or if he had that he would do so, in face of what they understood to exist in the North. namely, a strong feeling in favor of leaving the colored race in their present position.

Trifling indeed will be the evil arising from this bold humanitarian act of the North, and great beyond estimate will be the good arising from it.

It will tend to paralyze the South by shearing it of much of its strength. It will tend to give the North the sympathies of the Christian world; will give it an object, instead of an idea to fight for, and will thus do much to bring this inhuman warfare to a termination.

What we want to see is peace restored and established on the basis of equal rights and privileges to all. Without such a basis no peace can be permanent in the face of the intelligence and Christianity of this land and day.

The Cartier-Macdonald ministry had been defeated in May and a new government formed with John Sandfield Macdonald and L. V. Sicotte at its head. Its tenure of office was very precarious and that confederation was already finding favor as a solution of the political situation is apparent from an editorial of October 26th, 1862. These comments appear in an article commenting upon a speech made by Sir A. T. Galt in Manchester, England.

#### Confederation

The subject of a federation of the British North American provinces was presented as a prominent topic in Mr. Galt's address—a subject which may be expected to be one of a leading character in the legislatures of these provinces, till a federation takes place; for it is only a matter of time. The interests of each will demand that legislation taking the interests of the whole into account, will be essential to the full development of the resources of these great countries. We would suppose that a great saving might be effected in the machinery of government in this united form. Besides, as Britons we want it, in order to give us that position which it will be difficult for us to obtain, associated as we are with the non-progressive French of Lower Canada.

The idea prevails extensively at home that Canada is able to protect herself either in peace or war, and the sentiments of Mr. Galt in this matter are sparingly indorsed by the press of Britain. The fact is, our trans-Atlantic relations are waking up to the idea that we are somebody, and that our country and resources are worthy of consideration. Mr. Galt's speech and the discussion upon it, in the Chamber of Commerce in Manchester will do us good, although we may not fully adopt his sentiments. The more Canada is known in England the more will be our advantage, as emigration will be encouraged, and emigration of the very kind required for the development of the resources of the country.

Parliament met on the 12th February, 1863, and the editor upon the same day tendered some wholesome advice to the new ministry and to the members in general.

## Meeting of Parliament

To-day our Legislative Chambers assemble for the dispatch of business of this rising country. A more important session, if we may judge in advance by the nature of questions which must come before our Legislators, and the critical times in which we live, never was held in our country. Material, social and educational progress will be promoted or retarded, in a large degree by the course pursued in the times in which we are now living.

Men never had a better opportunity to see the right clearly and they never were more completely freed from anything in the shape of a dictatorial or domineering spirit on the part of those in power. Independent thought, speech and action are enjoyed to the fullest extent, and we trust will be used, to the full sifting of every measure, and that at the same time that fearful waste of time which too often characterizes the sittings of our Parliament will be avoided. We have our doubts as to the present ministry standing through this session. It may, and if so, in the very nature of the case, may stand for years. It should be the prayer of the devout, in all parts of our land, that our Legislators may be endued with wisdom equal to the task which they have undertaken.

From week to week The Standard continued to report the proceedings in Parliament but refrained from criticism until March 5th when the editor was evidently no longer able to control his pent-up feelings.

## **Parliamentary**

Nearly a month has transpired since the assembling of our Provincial Parliament, and what has been accomplished? Utterly nothing! The debate upon the Speech from the Throne is still going on, and may close some time. It may be right that the country's money should be thus thrown away, but we have our doubts of it. It may be necessary to spend three weeks in sparring across the House, but we have no proof of its necessity. It may be right that the people should honor men with the position of legislators, and then bear uncomplainingly, while they spend their days by the dozen, at full pay out of the people's money, doing little but trying their powers as juvenile orators, by abusing one another in the House, and then like lawyers after court locking arms, and repairing to the restaurant to enjoy themselves on champagne and ovsters at public cost; but we have not been convinced of it.

Six dollars per day, and many apparently trifling, but really costly etceteras may appear unimportant, but we claim that the country ought to have value for it. Many of the men who are under this pay, and are supposed to be Solons for wisdom would not be worth \$1 per day, at this season of the year at home; while to some of them it is a merciful dispensation which has sent them to Quebec, for while there they are safe from their creditors, and may,

if the Session be well stretched out, gather enough to stave off their creditors for another year.

If our legislative halls were replenished with men who had been brought up in ease, and style, and luxury, we might then more easily bear to witness the state of things which exists; but while the majority are men who have risen from the ranks, whose hands have been accustomed to do business with dispatch at home, it becomes insufferable.

It is really intolerable. Time enough has already been spent to do half the business of the session, and it may be said nothing is done! Three weeks have passed, costing the country above \$50,000, and business is not inaugurated.

No better opportunity could be afforded for a man making himself felt in the House than is now given, by taking to task, severely, both government and opposition, and "showing them up," till they are made to burn with shame, confess their faults, and go to work and do the business, for which, although so poorly qualified, they are sent to Parliament.

In the same issue the editor pays a high tribute to David Roblin, Esquire, who died on the first of March in his 51st year, after a lingering illness extending over eighteen months. No man served the county more faithfully than he. He was warden of the united counties of Frontenac and Lennox and Addington for seven years and represented the county of Lennox and Addington in Parliament from 1854 until 1861. Roblin's Hill east of the town of Napanee was named after him. Upon its summit he built the large brick residence where he spent the last few years of his life honored and respected by all classes of the community. For eighteen consecutive years he sat at the council board of the township of Richmond and was the prime mover in building in 1852 the Richmond Road, which runs through the village of Roblin, so named after him. He was a son of John Roblin, U.E.L., the progenitor of the Roblins of Adolphustown and Prince Edward county.

In the spring of 1863 Jeff Davis in accordance with the request of the Congress of the Southern Confederacy issued an address to the people of the South, congratulating them upon their indomitable valor when confronted with "the most formidable combination of naval and military armaments ever gathered for the conquest of an enemy." In The Standard's editorial comments upon this address we see reflected the views of Canadians upon the merits of the cause of the South.

## Address of Jeff Davis to the People of the South

We freely concede, that in the abnormal state of things now existing in the South, it appears to be impossible to do without slave labor; but when an abnormal state of things has supervened it is not only our duty, but it is a necessity which is laid upon us to restore society to a condition of health and soundness. Never can real happiness be enjoyed, or reasonably hoped for, till the cause of the evil is removed. Slavery is the Upas of Southern institutions and society. It will grow worse and worse till "the axe is laid to the root of the tree," and this "sum of all villainies" banished from this fair continent.

The coolness with which those concerned speak of this monster cruelty, proclaims most unmistakably that avaricious selfishness has effectually blinded their eyes, and that a worse than Pharaoh-like hard-heartedness has taken hold upon them, and no doubt Providence is preparing a Moses, for the deliverance of their down-trodden fellowmen.

Well-spun theories may be got up in favor of this enormous curse; arguments apparently logical, and satisfactory to interested parties may be adduced in its favor, but both theory and argument will vanish before the honest consciousness of right in man, which leads him to see such beauty in the inspired sentiment, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." The slave system with its ten thousand "refuges of lies," would fall in a moment before the honest and practical application of this sentiment.

Jeff Davis, as the head and representative of this would-be Slave Confederacy, may boast of valor, and patriotism and resources; he may invoke the continued aid of the interested and blinded planters and overseers of the revolted states; he may call up the enthusiasm of the pampered and work repudiating sons of planters whose education and position have been secured by the labor of their suffering fellowmen. He may invoke the aid of the Southern Missus, who, too idle to feed herself, much less to cook her own food, has been spoon fed from her cradle by her domestic, perhaps as intellectual naturally as herself, and perhaps, indeed the daughter of the same sire. He may gather around him an army of slave-catchers, and their bloodhounds, used to hunt down their fellowmen.

who groaning for liberty followed their God-imparted instincts in endeavoring to attain it. He may bring to his aid personally and visibly, as no doubt he has actually, Apollyon and his armies of devils. He may marshal them all, and he will not succeed, because truth and righteousness, benevolence, humanity, every good principle is against him.

His address is well worded, but contains an ample illustration of the depth to which human nature will sink when under selfish influences.

On the 18th April, 1863, at a meeting of the Reeves and Deputy Reeves of the county of Lennox and Addington a resolution was carried that Napanee be the County Town of the new county. This was the last step necessary to secure the desired legislation to make the separation an accomplished fact. The resolution was forwarded to the sitting member, Mr. Augustus Hooper, who found himself in a very awkward position. He carried on business at Camden East and his business interests were closely allied with those of Newburgh, and Newburgh was dissatisfied with the method adopted in choosing the County Town and claimed that the question should be submitted to a vote of the people. A counter petition signed by scores of Mr. Hooper's supporters was also forwarded to him. can readily see how the question of the separation of the county and the choosing of a county town threatened to play an important part in the next parliamentary election which did not seem to be far distant. The Standard sounded a note of warning in the issue of May 7th, 1863.

## The County Town Question

It may be supposed that the exciting state of things existing at Quebec may keep the question of the location of our County Town in the shade. The petition of the Reeve of Newburgh has been thrown out, as out of order on account of the required notice not having been given. A pretty large petition will no doubt be forwarded by the friends of Newburgh, if it has not already gone, either praying for the question to be deferred, or for an appeal to the people. Should the present ministry fall, as some think they will, and the J. A. Macdonald party be reinstated in power, the Newburgh people will see cause to rue the obstructions which they have thrown in the way of the prompt settlement of this question; for, no doubt, J. A.

will give all his influence in favor of the Counties remaining as they are. It is to be hoped, that for the interest of the County, as well as for Napanee, the matter will not be allowed to sleep, but that a vigilant eye will be kept toward this question, and that no necessary effort will be spared to secure our rights in this important matter.

The editor's prophecy respecting the fall of the Macdonald-Sicotte ministry came sooner than he expected. While the proprietors, Messrs. Henry and Brother, naturally leaned towards the conservative party there was little in the editorial columns to indicate their political allegiance. There was a general feeling throughout both Upper and Lower Canada that the strained relation between the two provinces had reached the point where some remedy must be sought. It seemed impossible to form a government capable of successfully handling the situation. In an editorial of May 14th the editor gives us his views upon the best solution of a most perplexing problem.

#### Defeat of the Government

The vote of want of confidence in the present government, which was introduced by John A. Macdonald, has carried by a majority of five, and will result in the proroguing of Parliament, and a general election forthwith. Many constituencies are on the qui vive; leading politicians are more than ordinarily complaisant, and other signs show the value which is set upon the people at certain times, by the self-denying aspirants for public places.

We have never taken sides with or against the present government. In many respects we thought them equal to their predecessors, and have not changed our opinion. But either they or their too warm friends promised too much; more than they had energy to accomplish. truth is, as we are situated in connection with Lower Canada it is impossible to do much to mend matters. Form any government you choose, and as the Brown-Dorion a few years ago, and the Macdonald-Sicotte of the present day, promise as they may, they cannot do as they would. The elements are adverse, and cannot coalesce. You never can make an Upper Canada Protestant constituency to be satisfied with the doings of its member. who must work in harmony with a Lower Canada Romanist. It is out of the question. Some arrangement must be entered into by which each section may manage its own

local affairs, and by which matters affecting the country as a whole, may be settled by a general representative body from all parts concerned.

A Federation of the different parts of British North America is the only cure for the miserable state of things which exists.

The vote on the question of want of confidence was a very full one, almost all the members being present and voting yea or nay. We would have preferred our member's name appearing on one side or the other. No doubt he can explain fully and satisfactorily the cause of his absence from his place at this important juncture in the session. No doubt his absence will be handled against him by his opponents.

By the time the next issue appeared the fight was on and Richard J. Cartwright (afterwards Sir Richard) made his debut in the political arena of Canada. The Standard published his first address to the electors on May 21st, 1863, and in announcing Mr. Cartwright's candidature the editor gave expression to views of which any paper might well be proud.

## The Coming Election

We were called to stop the press, while our last issue was passing through, in order to publish the address of R. J. Cartwright, Esq., to the electors of this County. Mr. Cartwright is determined to take time by the forelock, and secure all the advantage which being early in the field will afford. We defer our criticisms on Mr. C's address till we have an opportunity of seeing what others promise, who may seek similar honors to those sought by him. There is little danger but there will be a full team in the field; not less than four, we imagine, and we may expect stirring times.

Could we reach the ears of every voter, we would press one point, namely, the danger of encouraging any man as a candidate for your suffrages who will trifle with the purity of the elective franchise. The man whose vote can be purchased, at any price, whoever he may be, is not worthy of the name of man. He should be marked as a vile miscreant, and scouted wherever he appears.

Whether the price be the fawning smile, or familiar approach of the man who under other circumstances would not notice him, the whiskey treat or dinner, or the price

of the day on which the vote is given, whatever the price may be, let the man who would corrupt a voter, by influencing him in any such unfair way, be given to understand that he is not the man to whom may be entrusted the interests of this fine county. We wish earnestly that the County Seat matter be settled before the time of the election. One chosen to represent the people should not be put in by a sectional vote. Let the ground be clear of local questions and influences if possible. A man put into Parliament by a section, will be expected to serve the interests of that section especially, and cannot be as well prepared to promote the interests of the whole, as one elected on broad and general principles. Let us look to our manhood as Britons, and act and vote independently. Let us be slow to make promises, but when they are made for good reasons, let it be the same as though the act were performed. Let every voter look with contempt upon the man who would offer to purchase his influence or vote by personal consideration. Our manhood, as sons of British sires, is too valuable to be bartered for any material consideration. Therefore, whatever personal advantage we may suppose would arise from the election of such and such a man, we must look only to the public good, and give that man our vote and influence who in our judgment will do most, not for us as individuals, or as sections, but for the good of the whole.

To those who are not familiar with the history of the Cartwright family I might explain that the town of Napanee is built upon what was formerly known as the Cartwright estate and the Cartwright family were the largest landowners in the town in 1863. Richard John was then twenty-eight years of age. He lived in Kingston and was a personal friend of John A. Macdonald. He was a conservative but very carefully abstained from appealing to the electors upon party grounds.

## To the Electors of Lennox and Addington

GENTLEMEN:—In compliance with the wishes of no inconsiderable number of your body, I have determined to present myself as a candidate for the honor of representing this County in the ensuing Parliament.

In so doing, I heartily wish it were in my power to congratulate you, as in former times, on the favorable prospects before us. But as it is, I would be paltering with my own convictions, and would be utterly unworthy of your confidence, if I did not say frankly that I consider the present aspect of our affairs, economically and politically, such as to justify the gravest apprehensions.

Causes over which we can exercise no control may at any instant involve us in a war of the most desperate character, and how ill we are prepared to endure such a calamity may be judged from the fact that even now after fifty years unbroken peace, we are so completely unable to bring our expenditure within our legitimate income that a ministry pledged to retrenchment are forced to admit an excess of three millions expenditure in one single year, while the best they can promise for the future is that their next budget will be only deficient by about one million of dollars!

It would be waste of words to point out to you at length the dangers with which such a state of things is pregnant; for myself I will only say, that if honored with your confidence, the line of policy I am prepared to advocate may be defined in two words,

#### Retrenchment and Defence!

I desire earnestly to see our ordinary expenses reduced within the limits of our ordinary income, but I desire no less ardently to see this country put in an efficient state of defence, and I am ready to support any measure at all within our means to carry out which promises to attain that end satisfactorily. Indeed, such appears to me the overwhelming importance of these two objects, that I am willing to sink all minor differences whatever till they are accomplished, and therefore omit from this address all save the briefest reference to several topics on which I might otherwise have dwelt at more length.

I beg, however, that you will all distinctly understand that I have not the least reluctance to express my opinion on any given subject, should you at any time think fit to call upon me to do so during the canvass I am about to commence. My meaning in what I have said is simply this, that I believe the country to be in such peril that it becomes all good citizens, Conservative or Reformer, to lay aside party disputes and stand together firmly, at least till this danger be overpast. And I may urge this

the more reasonably because I believe I am justified in saying that almost all the great questions which formerly divided those parties have been peaceably adjusted, and that if at this juncture any important difference can be said to exist between them it lies chiefly in this—that the Reform party perceive perhaps the most clearly the vital importance of retrenching and adjusting our finances, while the Conservatives on the other hand are most alive to the quite as urgent necessity of preparing for the war storm which any hour may discharge itself on our heads

I shall endeavor at all fitting times and places to secure for Upper Canada a fair proportionate share in the representative, and I shall also oppose any measure which would injure our present country school system, but yet I deprecate any angry contention on such points till better times enable us to discuss them with that calmness and deliberation which they require and should receive at our hands.

For the rest I shall only add that, though had circumstance permitted, I could have desired the benefit of a few years additional experience before entering on public life; I am, at all events, sincerely anxious to advance what I believe to be the welfare of our country, while in the deep stake I have in the prosperity of this County you possess the strongest guarantee that I will never neglect your interests, if it be in my power to promote them.

And if in anything which I have said I have seemed to take too exaggerated a view of the difficulties of our position, you may be assured that it was from no cowardly fear of the consequences, and distrust of the energy or resources of our people, if well and wisely used; but rather from my desire to explain myself fully and unreservedly to you all.

I have now placed my views before you as explicitly as I could. I am conscious that in many things I fall far short of even my own idea of what your representative should be, and should you deem me mistaken in my opinions, or think me too young and too inexperienced to serve you, I shall bow cheerfully to your decision.

But if, on the other hand, you should see fit to select me as your representative, the honor will be doubled to me by the reflection that I shall owe my election to your free, unbiased choice, with full knowledge and approbation of my sentiments, and I trust that in such case I may be able by my future conduct to prove to you that your confidence is neither misplaced nor ill judged.

I remain, Gentlemen, Very sincerely,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD I. CARTWRIGHT.

During the following week Mr. Augustus Hooper, the Conservative candidate, made his appeal to the Independent elec-The Standard on May 28th carefully reviews the situation in a long editorial, but expresses no preference for either of the two candidates in the field. A meeting of the Reform party was called for the following week. The editor was evidently awaiting the result of that meeting. The Reformers concluded that it was too late to bring out a candidate but, according to the views of a correspondent from Bath, the meeting was in favor of choosing the lesser of the two evils. While they did not, by a vote, pledge themselves to support either candidate, Hooper was berated for not having settled the question of the County town and for absenting himself from the House when the vote of want of confidence was taken, and as Cartwright had no sins to answer for he seemed to be the choice of the Reformers.

In a leading editorial of June the 4th, The Standard leaves no doubt as to where it stands. It charges Hooper with having purposely absented himself from the House when the test vote was taken and appeals to the electors to—

#### VOTE FOR MR. CARTWRIGHT

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and elect an independent member to Parliament.

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and secure a member who cannot be bought or sold.

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and elect a man who will vote for retrenchment and economy.

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and elect the man who has the largest interest in the County.

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and elect a member who will carry the largest influence.

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and elect a man who will do as he agrees to do, and upon whom you can rely.

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and have an M.P.P. who will not dodge a vote.

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and elect a man who will be an able statesman.

Vote for MR. CARTWRIGHT, and you will never repent it.

While Mr. Cartwright had always been regarded as a Conservative is it not possible that what took place at his first nomination made a greater impression upon his party affiliation than has heretofore been credited? His nomination was seconded by John Stevenson, afterwards the Hon. John Stevenson, the first Speaker of the first Legislative Assembly of Ontario. Mr. Stevenson referred to him in the most complimentary terms and it is a well-known fact that Sir Richard never forgot the support he received from Mr. Stevenson and the Reform party upon that occasion.

The North American, which was supporting the candidacy of Hooper, administered a rather severe rebuke to The Standard for supporting Cartwright and quite unjustly charged that paper with inconsistency. The editor, however, was quite capable of striking back and did so in his issue of June 18th:

#### Our Position

During election excitements it is difficult to "keep cool," and to pursue that course which wisdom would direct and approve. Fallible we are as a race, and the editorial post cannot claim to be an exception to the rule. But, after all, and without any attempt at hiding our sins, where is the ground for the tirade of abuse with which we are assailed by a writer in The North American of 10th inst. His ground appears to be, simply that we have taken sides with Mr. Cartwright! Now we challenge this verbose and conceited scribbler to produce anything in previous numbers of this paper to prove that we held ourselves bound to take no side in this contest. Our uniform language was, hear all parties, and then determine intelligently who most deserves your support, and give that support freely and unsolicited.

We did not know but that other men, and perhaps those whose views we could endorse more fully than the views of either of the parties in the field might come forward. We waited for a full declaration of who the men were to be who would be candidates for the suffrages of the people, and when that became known we took our side, after weighing the political platform, comparative talents, and antecedents of the two gentlemen, and had no hesitation in declaring ourselves fully in favor of Mr. Cartwright.

The contemptible charges of the above writer, of our having bartered ourselves, circulated slander and falsehoods, etc., etc., are unworthy of notice. The writer is evidently under the influence of disappointed feelings. He no doubt thought that after our hesitation, and as no other candidate appeared in the field, that we would support Mr. Hooper, who had our support at the last election contest. But is it a valid reason why we should support a man now, that we had supported him on a former occasion? -Even the same men may offer themselves to-day, and there be reasons why we should support one, and to-morrow why we should support the other without mercenary influences being reasonably attributable. But how much more when the same candidates are not both in the field. We supported Hooper against his late opponent because we thought the trial had proved the latter unequal to meet the necessities of the County, and not the man to carry out the views of the majority of the electors, and because we thought the former might represent the County more faithfully. We now support Cartwright, because it is our matured conviction that he is better calculated to promote the interests of this important County than Mr. Hooper; and if we take this course, we can see no reason why we should be found fault with, any more than if we had continued in our support of Mr. Hooper. We defy our maligners to present and prove their accusations of inconsistency. We know that there are some whose vision is so eclipsed by selfishness, and whose judgment is held so completely in subserviency to others, and whose oblique course has so accustomed them to wrong doing that they cannot conceive of honesty or uprightness existing in others; but we can afford to rest under the censure of such characters. Their praise would be a disparagement, and their blame is in the eye of the intelligent and worthy the highest praise. We dictate not to others. We think and let think, and cannot be driven from our path or frustrated in our designs by the paltry and ill-natured rodomontade of angry and disappointed demagogues. Our language still is, Hooper has been tried and found wanting. Cartwright is worthy

of a trial on account of abilities of a superior order, a stake in the County which will make him true to its interests, and a platform agreeable, we believe, to the views of the majority of the electors of Lennox and Addington.

In the following issue of June 25th The Standard tenderly commits Mr. Hooper to his political grave and does its best to soothe the wounded feelings of his disappointed followers. There is no unseemly boasting of the victory achieved:

#### The Election Contest

The struggle is over. Rarely has so much energy been brought to bear, and expended in an election. Both parties evidently did their utmost, and, too, in the best way, to conquer his opponent, and the strongest in influence and friends succeeded. The result, so far as known, is startling even to Mr. Cartwright's friends. We or they did not expect such a majority. To win by 100 was the utmost to which their expectations reached a week ago. A majority of 300 is more than any, even the most sanguine, anticipated. The contest was in some respects almost unique. Mr. Hooper had given as good satisfaction for the two sessions which he represented this County as any former member had succeeded in doing. He was not blameless. Who is so? He had voted right, in the judgment of the majority, on almost every question in which he took part. He had been industrious, seldom being absent from the House, and when he spoke it was to the point, and secured an attentive ear from the House. One fault was the cause of his defeat, and that his absence at the want of confidence vote. Somehow the electors of Lennox and Addington got it into their minds that he shrinked responsibility at that most important time, and once in the idea that their representative, either with or without an understanding with John A., skedaddled, and it was impossible to remove it, or make them look favorably upon the man thus suspected.

The result of this contest is the more startling in view of the political platform of the two gentlemen being so completely similar. Both Conservatives, but at the same time liberal in their views; both unimpeached and unimpeachable in their loyal attachment to the British Crown. One can hardly see the ground on which a struggle so determined was based, and yet a contest more determined, perhaps, than ever was witnessed between old Tory and

Reformer, took place. Local interests and other considerations would lead us to be satisfied with the result; but even broader and more patriotic views influence us when we say that in our candid judgment, now after the contest is over, the best is done for the County as a whole.

If our friends who favored the defeated candidate will settle down into quiet acquiescence with things as they have resulted, if they will co-operate in the promotion of harmony and peace as heartily as we have all worked for our favorite man, and if we all labor together to co-operate with our legislators to seek the good of the country, we may reasonably expect that a decade of unparalleled prosperity is before us.

The Canadian press follows closely the trend of events across the border. There was no abatement in the awful destruction of life and property and the farther the war progressed the more bitterly did the contending sides express their contempt and hatred for each other. As Upper Canada had as early as 1793 in the second session of the first Parliament of the Province taken its stand upon the slavery question, the South could look for no sympathy from this quarter towards the traffic they were seeking to perpetuate. Nearly all the news from the scene of hostilities reached Canada through Northern channels and our experience through the Great War has taught us that only such news is released by the censor as will best serve the propaganda purposes of the side releasing it. We are not therefore greatly surprised to find a man of the even disposition of the editor of The Standard indulging in some pretty strong language respecting the Southern cause in his issue of July 9th:

#### The Balance Between North and South

For more than two years the two great divisions of the United States have been engaged in deadly strife—a strife not at first intended to be destructive of life and property to a thousandth degree of what has transpired; but a strife which has increased in dimensions as circumstance after circumstance occurred to aggravate the cause of alienation and exasperate the feelings of the belligerents on either side. The South never calculated upon the sacrifice of means, and of the best blood of their country, and both in such boundless measure as has resulted. Had they been aware of the cost, they never would have sought to per-

petuate their peculiar institution against the protest of the civilized world at such a sacrifice. They had been accustomed to caneing Northern men on the floors of their legislative chambers; bullying committees into favorable reports on questions involving their interests; by the force of dirk, bowie-knife and revolver, setting aside, or setting at defiance the wishes of the majority; lynching honest men, who dared to affirm the baseness of the principles on which slavery was based: anything, indeed, how base soever that thing might be, was not too base or outrageous to perform, in order to gag those who saw the wickedness of their favorite traffic, and to strengthen that on which their hearts were set, although in its enjoyment they might be compelled to fatten on the sweat and tears and groans and blood of their down-trodden fellow men. They had grown great and powerful and defiant, and looked upon the structure which they had raised as intended to be perpetuated forever.

Let the cowardly North bluster as they may, they dare not fight the chivalry of the South. Or even if their temerity should lead them so far, King Cotton will compel interference on the part of the European Powers, and we will have to suffer but a little time. But let the worst come that can happen, and we can walk through a host of Abolitionist Yankees, and joining our pro-slavery friends of the North, in the great commercial centres, we shall make short work of conquering a peace and establishing our independence. Such was the sentiment of the South at the beginning of this fratricidal war. The sea of blood which has been shed, the treasures which have been squandered, the misery which has been entailed never were calculated upon; no estimate was made for them.

The North, on the other hand, accustomed to the bullying bluster of the South, calculated upon the heat passing off in wordy protestations, threats, paper declarations, etc., and that after their bluster was over they would return to their usual course and bear, though it might be but with ill grace, the supremacy of the Black Republican party. The slave-patronizing Democrats had had their long, long turn, now they would permit their opponents to take the reins of empire, and drive the car of state for a brief term. They never thought of the South fighting. Or, if they did, they thought that having the army and

navy of the United States, its treasury, its credit, its prestige as an established power, with an immensely larger population of free industrious men, the Federal cause must triumph in every encounter, and the war be but of short duration. Look at the feelings of the nation at the time of the battle of Bull Run, and see whether these were not their sentiments. But they met, and tried each other's strength and metal, and like two brothers estranged, after an encounter in which both are injured, they retire more disgusted with each other than before the conflict, and more determined not to be friends.

In the issue of August 27th appeared the proclamation of the Governor-General, dated August 21st, 1863, announcing the separation of Lennox and Addington from Frontenac.

The editor appears to have dealt at some length with all the public questions of the day. In the issue of October 8th he devotes a whole column to the consideration of the Dunkin Act, which was then before the Legislature. Space will not permit me to quote more than one paragraph in which he justifies one phase of the Act which, in practically the same form, is embodied in the Ontario Temperance Act and has been most severely criticized.

His views made law would allow of more easy convictions for the infraction of existing regulations. Instead of the burden of proof being thrown upon the prosecuting party, when there existed strong presumption of guilt, it would devolve upon the supposed delinquent to prove himself innocent. As the law exists, one of the most difficult points is to get evidence against an offender. To do so you must induce those who actually drink themselves to act against those from whom they obtain it. Or the very undesirable course is pursued of persons purchasing drink just for the purpose of becoming informants. A change something such as suggested in Mr. Dunkin's Bill is very desirable.

We frequently hear complaints in our own day and generation that it is difficult to get the best men of the municipalities to accept nomination for public office. From a communication published in The Standard on October 8th it is evident that one elector at least entertained the opinion that many municipalities in the county suffered from the same complaint sixty years ago:

#### To the Editor of The Standard

Dear Sir.—It has for some time past been generally acknowledged that, as a class, our municipal councillors do very little credit to our country. Their moral weight is painfully small. Men have lost confidence in their honesty, and consequently attach but very little importance to what they say, as giving very little intimation of what they really think or what they mean to do. If they had set themselves to discredit municipal institutions and to cast ridicule upon the decision of the polls, they could scarcely have taken a better course than that which for some time they have pursued. For this state of matters the country has itself to blame. If the quiet, decent, intelligent, and gentlemanly portion of the community will keep back from the positions they ought to occupy and the duties they ought to discharge, they need not be surprised if the mercenary and unworthy step forward and occupy those positions, which are really sent a-begging, and should serve themselves by professing to discharge duties which the country has a right to expect should be discharged with all honor and honesty, which are actually set about in a far different way. There cannot be a doubt but what our township and village Councils are a disagreeable rabble in general. There are exceptions, of course, but no one can for a moment doubt that such is their prevailing character.

The editor did not content himself with laying before his readers his views upon current local events. His field was the world and there were few, if any, occurrences of importance that escaped his attention. He had the happy faculty of condensation without omitting any essential detail, so that in few words he presented to his readers a fairly complete review of the subject under consideration. We would look in vain in most of our weekly papers of to-day for as sensible an editorial as the following of October 15th, 1863:

## European Affairs—Is War Imminent?

The partition of Poland in 1815 between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, blotted out the name of Poland from the nominal record of nations. But only from the nominal record—for the idea has been retained in all minds impressed with the heroic valor of the Poles, that although

they had no nominal existence as nation, yet did they continue to exist actually in the sentiment of the world.

Internal distraction had weakened them—division amongst themselves had deprived them of the available prowess necessary to meet their rapacious neighbors, who gladly availed themselves of the time of their weakness to swallow them up. That which existed in the mind of the thinking part of mankind remained, notwithstanding the immolation of right on the altar of national ambition, in the minds of the sons and daughters of the fatherland. They were still in their own minds independent. Might had triumphed over and trodden down right, but the body only, that which was material, or merely accidental in arrangements for governing was made subject. The mind, patriotism, principle, said we must "bide our time," for destiny awards us due praise for patient endurance, and too, deliverance from our arrogant oppressors.

The national character still existed in mind, ready to develop itself when freed from the incubus which pressed upon it. Years pass on, and years of suffering. Russia and her fellows in the spoliation of this heroic nation promised constitutional privileges, but Austria and Prussia only to a limited extent, and Russia in no degree granted those privileges.—The Poles were treated as a conquered race—

in one case absolutely, in the others partially.

Under such circumstances it could not be expected. either that they could remain quiet or develop their energies in such a way as to be likely to cope successfully with their powerful conquerors, hence their struggles have been those of weakness, oppressed, outraged, downtrodden, against power, oppressive, rapacious, exacting. Poles have struggled, but they have been as the dove in the talons of the vulture, or the fawn in the paws of the bear. Might has triumphed over every principle of right, and while lying bleeding at the feet of the conquerors, has by her groans and blood appealed to the civilized world to assist her to assert her liberty. But the civilized world so far as aristocratic, continental Europe was concerned, had no ear for her cries, or heart to feel for her miseries, and the Poles suffered on. A crisis was brought on in January last, and the Poles flew to arms; and since then they have struggled manfully, but against fearful odds, and they are likely to be swallowed up. England almost alone is found to protest with energy against the utter annihilation of this

heroic people. But will England go to war in order to assert the right of others, not of her own nation? She has done so, and may do it again. Her patience long tried in diplomacy, may exhaust itself, and she, with perhaps her old allies against Russia, may be found in the arena of mortal conflict. One must say that the scenes now being enacted, in the outrages committed upon this people, would justify a combination to chastise the arrogant nation thus making such a use of its power, and to raise a patriotic and noble people to a position to take that part which they appear to have the soul to take in advancing the civilization of humanity.

Other complications are also arising which may tend to hasten a disturbance of European affairs, and bring on a contest affecting all the powers of Europe. It appears that the King of Denmark has failed in the observance of certain stipulations entered into with Austria, and Prussia in regard to the Government of Schleswig and Holstein, duchies belonging to the Danish Crown. These duchies are a part of Germany, and are represented in the German Diet. It is possible that trouble may arise out of this matter, as a committee of the Parliament of the Confederate German States recommends the employment of force to compel the Danish government to fulfil its engagements.

Whatever influence this new cause of trouble may exert, we can hardly see how the Poles can be left to such a cruel fate as they are doomed to under the uncontrolled cupidity of Russia. May we not hope that something may transpire to hasten deliverance for this noble, but deeply injured people?

The Standard was a strong advocate of popular education. The following is a portion only of one of many articles upon the subject:

## Popular Education and Human Progress

The advantage which we claim for our own day is this—that we hold the doctrine almost universally, as a people, that the masses should be educated. "No ancient nation ever advanced" this doctrine. "No philosopher or statesman of ancient times ever" set it forth as a principle, that all ranks of society should be educated. In this especially we occupy a vantage ground far above former ages. They

sought the perpetual elevation of the few. The old aristocratic idea of higher and lower grades was dominant in their system, and in order to keep the vulgar horde—the masses—where they were, they must be left in ignorance.—The result of the action of these principles is apparent in history. Nations rose, gained a place and declined. Their existence was ephemeral. We wonder while we contemplate the brief life of the Medo-Persian, or Grecian empires; and as we look upon the surgings and heavings of the nations existing since the dismemberment of the great Roman empire, we are astonished at the want of stability manifested in them. The grand secret appears to us to be the want of intelligence in the masses, and the consequent ease with which they could be swayed by designing demagogues.

Do not the changes which have taken place in France during the present and last centuries arise from the same cause? An ignorant, uncultivated, unreflecting people will always be influenced by those above them in intelligence; and are made the creatures of one aspirant after another, never realizing the good which is promised, always disappointed, and ready because not able to judge for themselves, to be duped by the next aspirant to power. That which has saved Britain from the upheavings which have destroyed other nations is the comparative intelligence of her middle classes; and she only wants a more general diffusion of education amongst the lower classes in order to become a power invulnerable to every attack which may be made upon her. The desired change is being brought about there; slowly, but surely. Here we have superior advantages. We have not old established and cherished principles and habits to contend against.—The ground is clear, and the will of both government and people is in favor of generally diffused facilities for thoroughly preparing the whole people for their part in existence as thinking and responsible beings.

Our own country was passing through a political crisis at this time. Ministries came and went and while in power did little more than mark time, thereby emphasizing the need for some sort of change. The solution was eventually found by the Fathers of Confederation. The American War, however, was the all-absorbing topic and engaged the attention of every editor. There was in some quarters a fear and nervous apprehension that Canada would in some way be involved. Mr. Cartwright, in his address to the electors, left no doubt as to his fears. "Causes over which we can exercise no control may at any instant involve us in a war of the most desperate character." The Standard had column upon column of news items, correspondence and editorials upon the situation. The following from an editorial of November 19th is a fair illustration of "a case of nerves," from which no editor in the country was exempt:

The topic which has had most interest for Canadian readers for the last few days is that sprung upon us by the news of Friday last, when it was announced that a scheme had been concocted by the Southern refugees in Canada, and their sympathizers here and along the American border, "to take possession of some steamers on Lake Erie, to surprise Johnson's Island, set free the prisoners of war confined there, and proceed with them to Buffalo." The scheme, it seems, comprehended also, "the seizure of Detroit, and its occupation during the winter, and the organization of a rebel army to take the field in the spring, as an active invading force against Michigan, Ohio and Indiana."

In view of the vast numbers of Southern refugees which are scattered through Canada, and especially in our frontier towns and cities, and the amount of sympathy awarded to the promoters of the slave power, both amongst the aristocratically inclined in Canada, and the inhuman nigger haters of the other side, and the prisoners of Johnson's Island, there was some feasibility in the scheme which has just been detected.

We could hardly credit the announcement when first it met our eye, nor can we yet feel quite assured that it is not a "big sensation story," got up for effect. But if it was thought of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Government of the country, and to be communicated by the Governor-General to Lord Lyons at Washington, and thro' him to the Washington Government; and if the Government at Washington thought it of so much importance as to notify the authorities of Buffalo, Detroit, and other frontier cities of the probable danger, we must believe that there is something in it.

The straits to which the Confederacy was reduced at this time may be gathered from an extract from a letter published in The Standard on December 3rd and purporting to have been written from Vicksburgh to the St. Louis Republican.

On the 12th of October the bodies of six men were found hanging side by side, in the woods near Talladega. at which place there is a large conscript camp. It is supposed these men were hanged for resistance to conscription. Two women were publicly hung at Talladega on the 13th for refusing to divulge the hiding places of their husbands, who had fled at the approach of the conscription officers. A perfect reign of terror exists in this part of the country. The woods are full of refugees trying to evade the relentless conscripting officers. All men from the age of eighteen to forty-five, regardless of wealth or station, are conscripted for the confederate army. Another conscription for state service has been made of boys from sixteen to eighteen and men from forty-five to sixty, who are able to hold up a musket and are not otherwise in the employment of the government. The people are yearning for peace at any price and upon any terms.

The deep interest taken by Canadians in the American War is manifested by the frequency of the editorials upon the subject. The editor endeavors to keep his readers posted in the movements of the two armies and in the political situation as well. In his editorial of December 17th he gives us a bird's eye view of the whole situation and we can read between the lines a forecast that the end was near. He was not the only one who underrated the confederacy's power of resistance. The surrender of Lee was still sixteen months distant.

## The War-Signs of the End

But, after all, we cannot but think that even the minority in Britain and Canada who expressed sympathy with the South, did so thoughtlessly. Their heart was not with slavery. It was rather against the braggarts of the North, who unreasonably berated England and her sons. No true Briton could be in sympathy with the South, on account of any principle for which they were contending. That is out of the question.

And the change which has of late taken place in the position and prestige of the belligerents, tells truly, in the manner in which it is received, how the pulse of Britons beats toward this rebellion. Never since the beginning of

the war has the North occupied so good a position as now. Never was the anti-slavery party so strong. Never was President Lincoln and his Cabinet more firmly seated in the confidence of the nation. Never did the arms of the North appear more likely to triumph over the obstinate bravery of Southern chivalry. Never did Southern slavery, that monster of iniquity, appear more surely to totter to its fall; and who can but see in the tone of the Southern press, in the language of official documents, and in the private reports of officers serving in various departments of slavedom, as well as in the fact which is boldly asserted, that the corps serving under General Breckenridge at the late battle of Chattanooga refused to fight—that the fate of the Confederacy is sealed. Everything, too, tends to show, that with the fall of this arrogant and aspiring Confederacy, falls the last hope of slavery existing as a permanent institution on this continent. And if, even with the cost of so much blood and treasure, this foul and blasting curse is removed, future generations will not reflect upon the cost as too great, which has saved them from having entailed upon them so great an evil. That the North should pay such a price may appear strange to some. It does appear strange. But, "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." The majority of the North were not only consenting parties to the perpetuation of this iniquity, but thousands of them were stained by actual participation in the enormous wrongs inflicted upon the African race. It could not be reasonably expected but that their sins would have their punishment. And not only the sins of actual participation in this enormity, but of allowing, aiding, and comforting it, in the passing of such outrages upon honest legislation as the Fugitive Slave Law —an enactment which will stand as an everlasting stain upon the escutcheon of American history. Before American sentiment could allow of the passing and enforcement of such a law, there must have been a degree of depravity reached which would require all that has transpired in this sanguinary struggle to arouse, to cause humiliation for, and to purge. No doubt can reasonably exist as to a better state of things being in revision for the people. Purged from the poisonous effects of this moral, social, and political upas, all that can make really great will have chance of development and growth; and we may reasonably expect a future of greater prosperity and happiness in our relations with them. Still, no doubt a severe, and it may be somewhat prolonged effort will be made by the leading men in the South who are committed to the rebellion; but the end must come, and with it no doubt an honest and certain arrangement for the extinction of slavery.

In the first issue of the New Year (1864) the editor gives us the result of the municipal election. From his remarks and a glance at the vote cast we are disposed to conclude that we have not degenerated much in municipal affairs during the past sixty years. The old council appear to have clung together on the ticket system. It was a clear case of the "ins" against the "outs." The electors must have been impressed with the thought that they would

"rather bear those ills we have Than fly to others that we know not of," and accordingly voted for the old council.

#### Our Election is Over

The agony is now over. Everything that now and again takes place, has its commencement, continuance and end. Christmas came and it passed away. The New Year came, and came with a terrific hurricane and passed away also, the hurricane too, and so with our election, but we must say that it passed off very quietly, and without much excitement. There was considerable talk before the time of election, about corruption, and awful disclosures, and all that sort of thing, which we invariably hear from those who are out of office, and who are anxious to relieve those who are in office from all care and responsibility. Several caucus meetings were held, and the public were called together to hear for themselves of alleged abuses, and the defence to be made by the "City Fathers." The people listened calmly and quietly, and have given their verdict, and have kindly and considerately allowed the opposing candidates to retire from public life for another year. At the close of the first day's polling the opposition candidates were far behind, so far that they saw there was not the shadow of a chance of their election. On the morning of the second day, like wise men, they came in a body to withdraw from the contest, and the poll would have been closed at an early hour, had it not been for some scattering votes. The whole of the old Council are in for another year's lease of office. At the close of the poll the votes stood as follows:

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Old Council		Opposition	
W. H. Wilkinson	180	J. T. Grange	47
S. McL. Detlor	171	S. S. Madden	41
John Stevenson	169	B. C. Davy	39
W. McGillivray	166	J. F. Bartels	34
W. Miller	166	W. McMullen	25

Much praise is due to the Returning officer for his patience, fairness, and gentlemanly conduct during the whole of the contest; and we must now congratulate our Town on the selection made for another year. We must say, further, that there are some men among the opposition candidates that would have been an honor to the Council—but, So mote it be.

# LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## PAPERS AND RECORDS

VOL. XIII

THE NAPANEE STANDARD 1866

COMPILED AND EDITED
By M. ELEANOR HERRINGTON, M. A.

NAPANEE, ONTARIO
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1928



## PUBLICATIONS OF LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. I.	Chronicles of NapaneeJune 12, 1909
Vol. II.	Early EducationSept. 19, 1910
Vol. III.	The Casey Scrap Books Part (1)Nov. 15, 1911 by W. S. Herrington
Vol. IV.	The Casey Scrap Books (Part) 11June 14, 1912 History of the County of Lennox and Addington, by W. S Herrington1913
Vol. V.	The Bell and Laing PapersMarch 14, 1914 By C. M. Warner and W. S. Herrington
Vol. VI.	Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, by W. S. HerringtonMay 4, 1915
Vol. VII.	and VIII. Debate, House of Assembly, April 18, 1836, by W. Renwick Riddell, LL.DNov. 8, 1916
Vol. IX.	The Canniff CollectionOct. 30, 1917 by W. S. Herrington
Vol. X.	Newspapers of the CountyFeb. 10, 1919 by W. S. Herrington "War Work of Lennox and Addington" by W. S. Herrington and Rev. A. J. Wilson
Vol. XI.	The North American, 1862-4April 10, 1925
Vol. XII.	The Napanee Standard, 1862-3 April 11, 1926 by W. S. Herrington
Vol. XIII.	The Napanee Standard, 1866 May 30, 1928 by M. Eleanor Herrington



#### INTRODUCTION.

Volume XII of the Papers and Records of the Society presented a series of extracts from The Napanee Standard for the years 1862 and 1863 dealing with the leading questions of the day. Very few issues for the years 1864 and 1865 have been preserved but fortunately the file for the year 1866 is complete. In the following pages the writer has attempted to present an analysis of the leading editorials and news items of that eventful year. The record is necessarily incomplete as it simply reflects the views of the Editor from week to week. It however, will now serve a useful purpose in depicting the local reaction to those events and will enable us to reconstruct to some extent the life and thought of the people of our country in that interesting period of its history.

M. ELEANOR HERRINGTON.

Napanee, Ont. May, 30th, 1928.



# Extracts from The Hapanee Standard, 1866

The subject which engrossed the thoughts and frayed the nerves of Canadians at the beginning of the year 1866, was the threatened Fenian invasion of Canada. Throughout the United States, Irish "patriots" and sympathizers were organized into Fenian "circles", directed by an official appropriately designated as the "centre". Moreover, the recent suspension of hostilities between the North and the South had left a dangerous element large, the adventurers who always attach themselves to any war, and these men were easily persuaded to swell the numbers of the Fenians. At the headquarters in New York all the machinery of government was set up under the presidency of John O'Mahony, and a council of delegates was held, under the grandiloquent name of "Congress of the Irish Republic". The pretentions and magnificent schemes of the Fenians tempted many Canadians to regard them with contempt and to belittle real danger, an attitude reflected in the editorial March 8th.

#### **FENIANISM**

"There have been many persons in Canada who allowed themselves to be kept in continual dread during the past winter lest there should be a Fenian invasion of our fair land, to be followed by a scene of plunder and bloodshed unexampled in our history. We confess that we never yet could see what ground there existed for such apprehensions, and more than once gave expressions to those convictions through our columns. As the spring has now so far advanced that there are no probabilities of parties crossing the ice and visiting our frontier towns perhaps the apprehensions of the more timid ones may die away again.

What possible designs there could have been of a Fenian invasion of Canada we never yet could see.

The scheme with which "Gen." Sweeney has amused many an audience is that Canada will first be conquered, and the English driven into the sea, and then having a country of their own, they would fit out privateer ships and men-of-war, and drive England's navy and commerce from the seas, and after that, we suppose, they would procure ships, and transport, unmolested, across the Atlantic an army large enough to liberate Ireland and set up the "glorious republic."

Anyone looking at this programme for a single moment would question the sanity of its originators unless he understood the circumstances under which it was uttered. It has been pretty generally understood that these enthusiastic war meetings, and these brave war speeches, were all for the purpose of commanding the ready funds. This money once collected, and we know what generally became of it. O'Mahony and his party provide themselves with a beautiful palace, and are surrounded by a retinue of servants at an expense of nearly \$100,000 per year: and we suppose the Sweeney-Roberts party are not much less extravagant in their desires. must come in the shape of voluntary contributions from the hard earnings of the labouring classes. When funds are low and new contributions are required it is necessary to get up something pretty sensational, and that looks like real work, in order to "raise the wind" again, and an invasion of Canada. without a moment's previous warning, is one of the best schemes for that purpose that can be brought forward.

Many were inclined to think at one time that so much apparently earnest talk really meant something, but as it has been freely indulged in for the past two years, without the first attempt being made to carry the threat into execution, there can be but few left who suppose anything was ever meant by the leaders."

But the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland had increased the activity of the Fenians in America, and it was feared that a demonstration was being planned for St. Patrick's Day.

# THE FENIAN EXCITEMENT (Mar. 15)

"It is probable that the excitement in respect to the Fenians is now at its climax. During the entire winter vague rumors have been afloat that something dreadful might be expected from these desperados, but it was not until last week that the Government was in possession of such information as made them feel justified in taking the prompt steps they have at last decided upon.

We are not yet informed from what sources their information was gleaned or of its precise character, but the fact that the volunteers throughout the Province have, by the Governor's Proclamation, been called to arms and held ready for any emergency, goes to show that they had reason to believe some-

thing more than mere threats were intended.

It is reported that Secretary Seward has assured the British Minister at Washington that no violation of the neutrality laws will be allowed by the United States. Why is it then that these threats and demonstrations are allowed with impunity? Our own conviction is that the United States government will yet have reason to regret having allowed these men to go so far as they have, as they are just about as likely to turn on the Americans themselves, as to make any real attempt at either Ireland or these Provinces."

When the volunteers of the province were called out, the citizens of Napanee realized that the only company in the county was that under the command of Captain Sweatman at Adolphustown. Accordingly we find in the issue of March 15th the report of a public meeting called for the purpose of organizing both volunteer companies and a home guard.

#### PUBLIC MEETING

"In compliance with a requisition to that effect, the Mayor of this town called a public meeting of the inhabitants to take into consideration the necessity of raising volunteer companies, to aid in the defence of our country in case an invasion should take place. The meeting was held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday evening, and a large number of persons were present.

The Mayor took the Chair, and Mr. F. W. Campbell was appointed Secretary to the meeting.

The Mayor alluded to the dangers that beset the country and prompted the calling of the present meeting, and after making a brief speech called upon Geo. Wilson, Esq., to move the first resolution. Mr. Wilson then read the resolution, which was as follows:—

RESOLVED,—That whereas our country is threatened with an invasion from the United States by traitors and conspirators, and that owing to the impending danger the Government of Canada have considered it advisable to call out 10,000 volunteers, and to resort to other measures for the defence of this portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

And whereas the town of Napanee having for a long time been without any volunteer or organized Militia force, and being the only County Town or place of the same number of inhabitants in Upper Canada not possessing some such organization, we occupy a very unenviable and exceptional position.

And whereas, owing to the above facts this town is in a very defenceless state, and is unable to respond as other portions of the country have so nobly done and as the inhabitants of Napanee would cheerfully do to the call of the Government for volunteers.

It is therefore deemed expedient and incumbent upon us the inhabitants of Napanee to show our loyalty to the Queen and our anxiety to take part in the public defence by raising one or more volunteer or militia companies.

Mr. Wilson in moving the resolution made a very loyal and patriotic speech. He said he was rejoiced to witness the brave and loyal manner in which the volunteers throughout the country had responded to the call of duty, and he regretted exceedingly that the town of Napanee was not in the list of places which had furnished their quota for the public defence. He felt confident that it was from no want of loyalty in the inhabitants of Napanee that they had not a couple of volunteer companies to

send to "the front," but was owing to the fact that until quite recently they had had no persons amongst them properly qualified to officer and drill the men; but now that obstacle was removed as several young gentlemen in the town had availed themselves of the facilities afforded by the Military Schools to obtain military instruction, and had received either first or second class certificates he trusted therefore that the men of Napanee would retrieve their honor and show their loyalty by at once enrolling themselves as volunteers. Mr. Wilson was loudly applauded at the close of his remarks. Mr. Thos. Flynn seconded the resolution in a lengthy and eloquent speech.

Dr. Bristol in a loyal and forcible speech moved the second resolution which was as follows:

Whereas, this meeting having deemed it advisable to raise one or more volunteer or militia companies, it is hereby resolved, That F. W. Campbell, Esq., and Geo. A. Fraser, Esq., who hold first class certificates from the Military Schools, be requested to raise two companies of volunteers, and to take all necessary steps towards having them accepted by the Government and furnished with arms and accoutrements.

It was seconded by J. T. Grange, Reeve of the town, who expressed himself willing to "turn out in defence of the country,"

Carried unanimously.

Mr. Campbell thanked the meeting for the compliment they paid him in entrusting him with the discharge of so important a duty, which he said he would perform to the best of his ability. Mr. Fraser also thanked the meeting, and said although nothing of a speaker, he trusted he would be able to do a little in the fighting line when the proper time came.

A couple of lists were then opened, when a rush was made for them, and a large number enrolled themselves as volunteers on each list.

The third resolution was then moved by S. S. Madden, Esq., and seconded by Mr. A. Fraser. It was as follows:

Whereas, in view of the more immediate danger that threatens our lives and property from ill - disposed persons that have come or may secretly come amongst us, and, whereas, the town being without any organized police force, this meeting deems it advisable to form a home guard, for the purpose of patrolling the streets at night, and guarding our homes and firesides should it become necessary for them to do so, such guard or a sufficient number of them to turn out in discharge of their duty whenever called upon by the chief magistrate of the town so to do.

John Stevenson, Esq., made a neat practical speech on the importance of adopting the steps that had been taken, and was followed on the same subject by several other speakers amongst others Mr. Kirby, an old veteran officer of 1812.

Vote of thanks to the chairman and three cheers for the Queen, when the meeting peaceably dispersed.

When March 17th passed quietly without any hostile demonstration, the general feeling was that the Fenians had been intimidated by the vigorous measures taken by the Canadian Government and the immediate reply of the volunteers. In his issue of March 22nd the editor comments of the promptness of the volunteers and on the necessity for an adequate system of defence.

## **CREDITABLE PROMPTNESS**

"It is satisfactory to know that the sons of the heroic militia that so nobly came forward and defended our country in the war of 1812, and the rebellion of 1837, have not lost the same noble, patriotic spirit, and that if our land should again be invaded there are manly arms and brave hearts ready to defend it. It is encouraging to be informed that when the Government recently felt it advisable to make a call for ten thousand volunteers to protect our frontier, the whole number was supplied within half a day and in a few hours more the services of ten thousand more were tendered, but happily they were not required.

The Fenian leaders will find it far safer to make warlike speeches at home, and amuse their audiences by imaginary campaigns than to give the experiment a real test by invading our shores. So long as we are found so ready and willing to repel every invader there is but little danger to be apprehended from Fenian invasions."

#### **OUR MILITIA**

"The excitement in this Province in connection with the recent reports of Fenian invasion has caused the people to give more attention to our means of defence than we have done previously. During the whole period of the American civil war the British Government saw the apathy that existed in this country in reference to the state of our Militia, and used strong influences to rouse us to action, but as we did not appear to apprehend any immediate danger then it appeared almost impossible to induce us to shake off our apathy. If the present excitement is productive of no other good it will, at any rate, stimulate us to more decided action in this respect.

Up to the present time we have depended almost entirely upon the Volunteer system, aided by the "regulars" from England, for our defence. must be now obvious that something more will be required than a mere dependence upon a few enterprising young men throughout the country that are willing to sacrifice their time and business in order to receive the proper training that is necessary to fit them to enter the ranks of an army. The country has a right to demand that every inhabitant of the land shall be prepared to go out and drive back any invading foe, but they cannot be thus prepared without proper training and instructions, such as but few are now receiving. We think it is high time that measures should be taken to see that every young man shall be properly enrolled and drilled. so closely connected with a powerful and warlike people that in case of any disruption every man's services will be required, and every man should be kept in readiness.

We have now in Canada between 8,000 and 10,-000 regulars of the British army, and there are about twenty-six thousand volunteers armed and drilledten thousand of whom are now on duty. these there are about eighty thousand men of the service Militia balloted for who must turn out whenever the Government think it necessary. But this latter class would scarcely prove of any advantage, in case of actual warfare, for want of proper train-

It is not at all creditable that in so large and wealthy a country as Lennox and Addington we cannot boast of a single company of volunteers, excepting the efficient troops under the command of Captain Sweatman of Adolphustown. Other counties with far less interests at stake, and far less inducements to make the necessary sacrifices have greatly out-stripped us in this important respect.—We trust that this stigma will not be allowed long to remain upon us. Napanee is about to have two companies organized, and we see no good reason why several other localities should not be equally as active in this important matter."

For the next few weeks opinions were divided whether the period of calm was only the lull before an impending storm or a sign that the Fenian danger was definitely past. Then came news of a change in the

Fenian plan of campaign.

# **FENIAN RUMORS (April 12)**

"People are becoming tired of reading any more the rumors with which the Fenians are so fond of amusing the public, and a feeling of disgust is now provoked at the hollowness of their pretentions. Readers of the Standard will bear witness that from the beginning we have treated the thing as of little or no serious importance, and have given our convictions that of the dangers that have threatened us none was of a less serious character than the threatened invasion. By this time probably this conviction has become pretty general. Those who have amused themselves in trying to keep the public well informed in regard to the projected movements of these men, have lately given us to understand that Canada

is likely to be left in quietness and other fields of conquest have been selected. It is said that "distance lends enchantment to the view," and consequently a more distant field has been selected. Some have hinted that British Columbia or Vancouver Island would constitute the basis of operations; others that it was the Bermuda Islands.

Last week the New York World and Herald gave forth the intelligence—so often before given-that a blow was at once to be struck. But there was a sad dwindling down in regard to the magnitude of the first achievements. Instead of vanquishing Canada in a single day as before, we are now informed that a little island off the coast of New Brunswick -containing about one-half as many acres and population as Amherst Island—is to be the point of attack. The World goes on in the most ludicrous manner to give the details of the projected campaign. O'Mahoney is not to lead in person, since the days of the great Napoleon it has always been understood that the lives of great commanders are of too great value to be hazarded in a common engagement, so one of his Generals will perform the daring feat: and when the victory is proclaimed. O'Mahoney is to pass over and be declared President, and set up his long predicted Republic. dominions are then to spread, and New Brunswick is to be absorbed. The new empire is to receive the title of Emmetta, in honor of the noted Robert Emmett, whose name is so intimately connected with a former rebellion in Ireland, and who paid the penalty with his life. Several of the other particulars, such as dividing the new country into three Provinces, and the General to be clad in a beautiful snuff colored coat, trimmed with green, we cannot afford space to give now. We must not forbear to mention that one of the most important objects to be accomplished by the taking of this island, is that as soon as possession is gained a new issue of the Fenian bonds will be thrown into market, and it is expected that with the prestige of having conquered British territory, and bearding the lion in his own den, a couple of millions might be realized in these bonds."

The "little island off the coast of New Brunswick" that was to form the nucleus of the Fenian republic was the island of Campo Bello, in Passamaquoddy Bay. The Fenians were reported to be mustering at Eastport, Maine, and in its issue of April 19, under the ironic heading "First battle and its results" the Standard gives the details of a raid on the British customs house on Indian Island. The next issue reports the measures adopted both by the American and British governments to frustrate the Campo Bello scheme.

#### **FENIANISM**

"The papers are carefully examined every day to see whether the Fenians that have congregated along the coasts of Maine have yet made an attack on New Brunswick. Even many of those who never before supposed that they intended fight, began to think themselves mistaken, for the adage runs, where there is much smoke there must be some fire. The only fire that has yet occurred was the firing of a store house on the American side, supposed to be the work of the Fenians. The report now is that they are dispersing, and many of the poor dupes know not how to get to their homes again. It seems probable that the object of this demonstration was more to hasten the sale of bonds, by showing something like real work, than anything else.

The American government has taken more decisive measures for the suppression of the movement. Last week Gen. Meade was sent to their rendezvous with a company of 160 soldiers to keep an eye on their movements. One or two vessels loaded with their arms have also been detained by the government officials, and war ships have been ordered to that vicinity. The New York Times is bitter against them, and asserts that so far, the war they have waged has been against the United States and not Britain, and demands their suppression. Probably the Americans will see yet more trouble with them.

The British have not been inactive in the meantime. Both soldiers and war ships have been sent to the defense of New Brunswick, and things are in a state of readiness to give them a warm reception whenever they may find it convenient to honour our fellow colonists with a visit."

The same day on which the above article was published, New York papers, quoted in the next issue of the Standard, were reporting the abandonment of the New Brunswick scheme and the return of the Fenians to New York. On May 10, the editor comments on the trouble this fiasco has caused in the ranks of the Fenians, and urges the necessity for further watchfulness. It is interesting to note too, the effect the Fenian danger had in hastening the confederation of the provinces.

#### **FENIANISM AGAIN**

"All the vials of wrath have now poured on the head of poor O'Mahoney. It is said that on returning to New York a deputation from the Eastport terribles waited on him and at once demanded an explanation for the failure of the expedition. been promised that transports and were to meet them at the coast of Maine and convey them to Ireland. O'Mahoney tried to lay the blame on Killian and denounced him as a traitor to the cause. The deputation then demanded remuneration for the time and expenses of the expedition, and enforced the payment by locking up O'Mahoney's mansion and presenting revolvers to his head, which of course brought him to terms and thirty dollars per head was The Head Centre was then brought bepaid them. fore a Council of the Brotherhood and explanations again demanded. Not being able to give a satisfactory account of his stewardship he was at once deposed from power, and a committee placed in guard of the papers and valuables of the establishment. It is said that over \$300 have been paid in to O'Mahoney during the past six months but not one dollar was to be found in the safe. Of course the brotherhood will not see the money again.

One would imagine that after so many failures, and so many exposures of dishonesty, the deluded dupes would lose faith in the whole movement. Instead of this it is said that hundreds are now rushing to the standard of Roberts and Sweeney, and clamouring to be led into trouble. They are "spoiling

for a fight," and nothing else can satisfy them. It will be necessary for these leaders to do something at once or they too will be deposed from power. If anything can or will be done it may therefore soon be expected. It is known that the chosen ground of this party has always been Canada. We will therefore feel it necessary to be well prepared for them for sometime yet to come.

Up till this date the Fenians cannot be much flattered with the result of their efforts. In consequence of the excitement in Ireland the Corpus Act was suspended, and according to the Dublin correspondent of the New York News — a Fenian authority, the result has been that more Irish have left the country than can be replaced by the most magnificent "army of invasion" that has yet been promised; so that the case is worse than ever. In America the demonstrations against the British Provinces has done more to hasten Confederation than anything else, and this but tends to strengthen and consolidate British power. All the there has yet been has been in their own ranks, and with the United States Government. There is an old adage "give the Devil rope enough and he will hang himself."

The dissension in Fenian circles attendant on the failure of the Campo Bello campaign brought the organizer, James Stephens, to New York from Ireland. As soon as Stephens assumed control there was an ominous lull. Greater secrecy was imposed on the garrulous brethren, but it was generally believed that Stephens' own plan was to set up their republic in Ireland rather than to attack Canada first, and for the next few weeks he allowed the report to be circulated that his only mission in America was to collect funds to be sent to Ireland, and that the invasion of Canada was abandoned.

Suddenly, on the first of June the blow was struck. The Standard, in its issue of June 7th, does not give a connected account of the engagements, but prints the series of despatches as they were received from various points from June 1st to June 5th. From this information one can give only the first impression of the raids which a contemporary reader would have gained, rather than an authentic account. It is amusing to note, by the way.

the staid manner in which the engagements are reported, when one considers the hysteria to which an invasion of the country would move a newspaper of 1928. There are no headlines across the sheet. Indeed, no mention of Fenians is allowed to mar the deep peace which broods over the front page. Of its eight columns, the first three are, as usual, devoted to small advertisements and business directory: next come a few stanzas of "select poetry" and a story of the highly sentimental type in vogue at the period, with a few moral maxims of Epictetus for padding. It is only on turning over the leaf that we learn that the enemy has been active in our midst.

It appears that on May 31st about 1300 Fenians crossed at Niagara and advanced to Frenchman's Creek. The Canadian volunteers moved from Port Colborne to Ridgeway by tram, and finding the Fenians encamped in the woods, engaged them, the Queen's Own firing the first shot. Several were killed on both sides and the Fenians were driven back, but later the Queen's Own retired for want of support. Whether Colonel Booker, who was in command of the supporting troops, deliberately fled or fell back mistaking the cheers of the Queen's Own for shouts of victorious Fenians, he was so severely criticized that he soon resigned his command. Colonel Peacock with a body of regulars moved by water from Chippawa against the Fenians at Fort Erie. Many Fenians retreated across the river, but on the approach of Col. Peacock's force, 700 were taken prisoners, and handed over to the custody of the American armed steamer, Michigan, under Commander Bryson. When the volunteers and regulars took up their position along the river opposite Buffalo, the danger of a Fenian raid from that point was over. The troops mentioned as taking part in the engagement, were the Queen's Own, the 13th Hamilton battalion, the 16th and 47th regiments, the Welland and Grev batteries.

Meanwhile it was reported from Ogdensburg that Fenians were concentrating at Malone, N.Y. to attack the canal at Cornwall. The 15th Battalion from Belleville and the 16th from Picton received orders on the 2nd of June to proceed at once to Prescott. Two days later the volunteers which this county could muster were summoned:

#### MOVEMENTS OF TROOPS

"On Sunday afternoon an order was sent up from Kingston for Captain Sweatman's company of Cavalry to report themselves at that place immediately, and although they were scattered over a large tract of country yet in about three hours they had nearly all assembled at Bath, from whence they moved on in a body to Kingston. The following named gentlemen of this town have gone with the company, —B. C. Davy, Mayor, M. P. Roblin, Registrar, C. B. Perry, Edwin Green, and Dr. Bristol."

Apparently the volunteer companies begun at the public meeting of March 15 had never materialized, as the editor feels it necessary to explain the dearth of vol-

unteers from Napanee.

## **EXPLANATORY**

"As many complaints are made in regard to Napanee, that while every other town and village is sending Volunteers into the field to defend country, not a single company is here, even to defend our own homes, we may say by way of apology that the blame is partly due to the government. the Volunteers throughout the country were called out some months ago two Companies of volunteers enrolled their names here and tendered their services to the Government, but an answer was received informing them that their services were not then required, but intimating that arms would be forwarded them in time so that they might drill for future purposes,—Since then there has nothing been heard from the Government in regard to the matter. This week, telegrams have been sent again offering their services, but an answer has been sent thanking them and saying that their services will not be required. We hope, however, that our Representative will use his influence to have arms and clothing sent to them at once, so that we may be no longer without Volunteer companies."

But steps had already been taken to remove the reproach. On Saturday, June 3, a public meeting was held to form a home guard, and reorganize the volunteer companies.

## **PUBLIC MEETING**

"After it became known that our country had been invaded, and that our own homes were exposed, it was thought advisable to hold a public meeting of the citizens of Napanee, to devise some means for our own protection. Accordingly quite late on Saturday afternoon a proclamation was issued calling a meeting that evening, in the Town Hall, for the purpose, and notwithstanding the short notice the Hall was completely crowded. Never have we seen more assembled in the Hall.

In the absence of the Mayor, the chair was occupied by J. T. Grange, Esq., Reeve, who briefly explained the object of the meeting. John Stevenson, Esq., was called upon and moved a resolution expressive of our feelings in reference to the wanton invasion of our land by an enemy, to whom we had never given the least provocation, and the necessity of prompt measures on our part to provide for our own defence. Judge Burrows briefly seconded the resolution.

Bishop Richardson, of the M. E. Church was then called upon and was received with great cheers. This venerable gentleman lost one arm in the defence of our Country in the war of 1812, and gave some interesting particulars in regard to that struggle. We regret that space will not allow us to furnish a lengthy report of his interesting speech.

T. W. Casey, Esq., moved the second resolution, in regard to the enrolment of a Home Guard. He said while it was necessary for us to provide men to send to the battle-field, and oppose foes without, it was also our duty to see to it that no mischief should be done by traitors within. Unless our streets were nightly patrolled, it would be an easy matter for even four or five evil disposed ones to do us incalculable injury by applying the torch of the incendiary to our own homes. It would therefore be necessary for us at once to arrange to have our streets nightly patrolled, lest advantage should be taken of the present excitement. Dr. Ruttan seconded the resolution in a few well-timed remarks.

A large number at once enrolled themselves as

a Home Guard, and several more as volunteers, if

their services would be accepted."

There continued to be rumors of threatened attacks at Prescott, Kingston, and St. Johns in Quebec, but none materialized. The rather large force at Malone was made to disband through the vigorous action of the American Major-General, Meade. This the editor points out in his issue of June 14, but at the same time can not refrain from a thrust at the American government for having allowed the Fenian organization to be developed so far.

#### FENIANISM COLLAPSED

"Perhaps few of our readers will be much surprised at the ignoble end of the Great Fenian campaign—that was to have taken possession of Canada and then liberated Ireland from Britain's iron grasp. We could never make ourselves believe that these agitators ever seriously entertained the idea that either Canada or Ireland would ever fall into the their hands, and there are many others who are firmly of the opinion that a desire for plunder was the true secret of their operations.

The little sympathy they received from any portion of our inhabitants and the prompt manner in which they were repulsed had most to do with the failure of the movement, though it must be admitted that the decided action of the American Government in seizing their arms and arresting their leaders had much to do with the speedy termination of the ex-

pedition.

We trust that the trouble and vast expense of which the United States Government has found it necessary to make to quell this movement, which it so quietly allowed to grow up unmolested in its own territory will teach it a salutary lesson. Had it been nipped in the very bud, as it might easily have been, all this trouble would have been prevented in both countries. As it is, the United States were put to a greater expense and trouble than even we have been, and with them the difficulty is not yet at an end. No government should for a single day tolerate a movement as wicked in its conception and so diabolical in its design as the wanton invasion of a peaceful and

friendly people, and it cannot be expected that the connivance at such an outrage will be allowed to pass unpunished."

In spite of his brave words of explanation in the previous issue, the editor felt keenly the poor showing made by the county when the call came for volunteers.

# **OURSELVES AND OUR NEIGHBORS**

"From our neighboring Counties of Hastings and Prince Edward, over eight hundred volunteers left their homes to defend our frontier, within forty-eight hours of the time their services were demanded, from this County, fifty all told. At Belleville, we are informed, every school has been closed in consequence of the teachers being away on duty, and many places of business are nearly closed because so many connected with them are absent. Both Editors are gone; in the Chronicle office none but the "devil" is left. Of the remaining citizens a large number have been enrolled, and thoroughly armed as a Home Guard, and are constantly on the alert.

From Prince Edward, not only has the County Town furnished a large number of volunteers, but there are many from nearly every township in the county. We are glad to see that the authorities are taking good care to provide for the families of those who are thus absent on duty. At Picton a committee was at once appointed to attend to the wants of families whose support had been called away, and a special meeting of the County Council has been held and funds voted from the general treasury for the same laudable purpose. Mounted Piquets have been established along nearly the whole lakeside coast of the County, where any danger might be apprehended from a landing of the invaders. It has also been proposed to form a Home Guard in each Township in the County and meetings for that purpose have been held in some localities.

When we compare the activity of our neighbors to provide for the defence of our country in the present emergency, with our own inactivity, who does not blush at the unenviable position we now occupy. Beyond the excellent company of troops,

headed by Captain Sweatman of Adolphustown, Lennox and Addington has not furnished any companies whatever. Had our own officials displayed the same spirit and sacrifice as those of Prince Edward we doubt not but that our position now would have been equally proud, for no one will say that the young men of this County are deficient in activity and courage, where the country demands their ser-We are glad to say, however, that prompt vices. steps are now being taken to place ourselves better footing. At Bath a company, with Peterson, Esq., as Captain, has been raised and are to be armed at once. At Tamworth there are now two companies, and at Napanee Captains Campbell and Geo. Fraser respectively are drilling their recently organized companies, and are expecting arms to be furnished them in a few days.

We trust that the good work will not stop here. There is no good reason why there should not be an excellent company in every township in this County. To ensure our safety we must be in a position to inform our enemies that we are at any moment prepared to receive them. We sincerely hope and trust that another week will not elapse without efforts being made to organize companies in several of the large and respectable townships of which we have not yet been able to hear in connection with the volunteer movement. Let the men of South Fredericksburgh, of Richmond, of Ernesttown, and of Camden, give us to understand that they are not behind their neighbors in this important enterprise."

It happened that four men from the county, students at the University of Toronto, had taken part in the engagement at Ridgeway as members of the Queen's Own. The following extract from the report of the County Council meeting of June 29th shows that the county was not unappreciative of their services.

"Moved by Mr. Ham, seconded by Mr. Paul, That, as several of the young men of this county, while attending the University at Toronto, and belonging to the Queen's Own volunteers, were called upon to do duty on the Niagara Frontier during the lafe invasion by Fenians, having nobly responded to the call, and served during the engagement at Ridgeway, this Council do, as a slight token of the appreciation which the people of this County have of their devotion to their country, present each of such volunteers viz; Messrs. Smythe, Carey, Deroche and Nichols, with the sum of Twenty dollars, and the same be paid over to order of the respective Reeves of the Municipalities in which the said volunteers reside, to be presented to them on behalf of this corporation. Carried."

Meanwhile there were intermittent rumors of other attempts by the Fenians, and the newly organized volunteers of Napanee were hard at work, determined to wipe out the former reproach of unpreparedness.

# **VOLUNTEER INSPECTION (July 26)**

"On Thursday evening of last week Brigade-Major Shaw visited this town for the purpose of inspecting the Artillery Company here. Although the officers of the company were not aware of the intended inspection till the usual hour for drill, yet a full company was mustered. The men were put through the various military evolutions they had been instructed, and moved with a regularity that was very creditable, considering the short period they have been under drill. The Brigade-Major, after passing through the ranks, addressed the company at considerable length. He expressed himself highly pleased with their appearance, and said he would have much pleasure in reporting favorably of them to the Adjutant-General. He referred to the unenviable notoriety which Napanee had gained during the late Fenian excitement, both at the Adjutant-General's office and thro'-out the district, and hoped that our reputation would be retrieved by displaying more of a patriotic and spirit in the future."

Although many of the seven hundred Fenians captured at Fort Erie had escaped, there still remained in Canada about two hundred prisoners, a sufficient number to prove a source of embarrassment to the government as to their trial.

## FENIAN TRIALS (June 21)

"It does not appear that our Government have vet been able to arrive at a decision in regard to the Fenian prisoners now in our hands. According to the provisions of our Statutes they may either be tried by Military Commission or in our Civil Courts, but it has not yet been announced which will be resorted to; it is probable the latter, however.—It will doubtless be an exceedingly difficult matter to much with them in our civil courts. A foreign citizen, found with arms in his hands, invading the country in time of peace, and trying to plunder, is liable to the death penalty. But scarcely any of these were found with arms in their hands, and nearly all of them assert that they were merely spectators who had no part in the invasion. Several have proved that they were such, and it will be a difficult matter to show, by direct evidence, such as a Court would require before inflicting capital punishment. that any of them were personally engaged in the battle. It will be remembered that no prisoners were taken at Fort Erie on the battle field or even under arms. and under such circumstances it would be difficult to prove their guilt, unless they turn evidence against each other.

The Attorney General has announced that they shall be treated as brigands and marauders, but even if their guilt could be clearly established, it would be too much like butchery to put to death nearly two hundred prisoners, many of whom are mere boys and dupes of designing ones. The principal officers, if we but had them, could well be made an example of, but they took good care to secure their escape.

It does not appear that the Canadian Government has made any demand for the prisoners taken by the American authorities near Fort Erie. As there must be good evidence furnished here of the guilt of each individual before he can be claimed under the Extradition treaty it is at once evident that it would be no easy task to claim them, and even if in our hands it would be a question what way to dispose of them. We regret that some efforts are not made to procure O'Neil. As the leader of the

party it would not be so difficult to prove his guilt and his punishment would not be such a questionable matter.

The American government has undertaken the trial of "President" Roberts, and after two days investigation it has been abandoned. Certainly in this case their Courts present a pitiable spectale. It was announced by the prosecuting Attorney that in consequence of the intimidations and threats of violence to those that might be witnesses against him they could not safely be brought into court. nesses whose evidence went to substantiate any of the charges preferred would be openly hissed by the spectators, and loud cheers given when anything was brought out favourable to the prisoner. ada, where the order and dignity of our courts have always been maintained, these facts appear strange enough. Certainly the admirers of democratic institutions among us must see, from time to time enough defects in the American system to convince them of the superiority of our own."

Since it had been decided to give the prisoners a civil rather than a military trial, they were kept in custody during the summer and brought up before the judge at the fall assizes in October.

# FENIAN PRISONERS (Oct. 25)

"The Court at Toronto is engaged in the trial of the Fenian prisoners now in custody at that city. The evidence for the prosecution has been laid before the Grand Jury, and a true bill has been found against several, others have not yet been brought into court, but all will be as fast as the business can be proceeded with. It is understood that the trial will be continued until all are disposed of. Over two hundred witnesses are now in Toronto, summoned to attend these trials. The great difficulty is to identify the men, as being of the number in the Fenian ranks, as none of them were found under arms at the time of their apprehension.

The American Consul attends the court daily to observe the progress of the trial on behalf of the prisoners, and those that claim to be American citizens will be supplied with money to enable them to defray the expenses of their defense."

Many of the prisoners were acquitted through lack of evidence, but at Toronto two were convicted and condemned to death, a Col. James Lynch (in Dec. 13th issue called Robert B. Lynch) who had claimed that he was the reporter for a Louisville paper and not a combatant, and Rev. John McMahon. The intervention of the American Secretary of State, which moved the editor of the Standard to such indignation, was so far effective that it secured a three months' respite for the condemned, Lynch, McMahon, and five others, Wm. Slaven, Wm. Hayden, Daniel Whalen, J. Quinn, and Thomas School, whose execution had been set for the same date.

## SENTENCE OF THE FENIAN PRISONERS (Nov. 1)

"Justice" says the old adage "has a leaden foot but an iron hand" slow to move but terrible to strike. So it has proved in the case of our Fenian Prisoners, against whom sentence has been pronounced.

The many months that have been allowed to transpire between the apprehension and trial of these men caused a universal murmur at the tardiness of our government, but now that some have been held there is regret that there is so much severity in the prescribed punishment. It is not however probable that, if the others are found guilty, their punishment will be as great as in the case of Col. Lynch, and the Rev. McMahon. The majority of the others are young—mere boys,, and of but little intelligence, it would therefore be an injustice to deal as severely with them.

Great efforts are being made to procure the pardon of these condemned men, particularly on the part of the United States. Public meetings of the Fenians are being held and speeches of the most inflamatory character indulged in, of what Canadians may expect in case these sentences are carried into effect. Resolutions are also adopted calling upon the President to use his influence to procure their release. So far as the effect of these speeches may go they will be of but questionable advantage to those for whom the pretended sympathy was extended. It

is well known that Britons, wherever you may find them, are not easily intimidated into submission, even by those who may have the power to carry their threats into execution; but Fenian threats have become so familiar during the past year or two, to us, that they pass for merely empty words.

The fact that the Washington Government has acted so promptly in endeavouring to procure their release will do but little in their favour. Had the same government been as prompt in its efforts to suppress the movement in the very outset these men would never have troubled us at all. No reason can be advanced why leniency should be extended to these men; there is no palliation for their crime. Had it been the scheme of some thoughtless young men, attempted at the impulse of the moment, and heartily regretted immediately after, it would be then But it was premeditated, to the quite pardonable. full knowledge of the Washington Government, for months previous to its execution, and even since we have been unmistakably informed that nothing but their much regretted want of ability prevents these same hordes from overrunning and subjugating us. depriving us of our much valued liberty. this is the very class of men that Secretary Seward and President Johnson would fain have us treat with unusual forbearance! Their own conduct towards the invaders is anything but creditable. The man who assaults a loafer is straightly fined for the offence, but the men who invaded Canada, shot down six of our brave men, plundered and pillaged much as they could, are let go without even the form of a trial, as an offence too trivial to be noticed. Save us from our friends, if these are to be considered as such"

While the subject of the Fenian raids loomed so large that it seemed best to treat it as a separate topic, there were other questions of interest discussed through the same number of the Standard. In the issue of Jan. 26th the editor comments very wisely on the reciprocity treaty, which had been in force since 1854 but was abrogated by the United States this same year, 1866.

#### RECIPROCITY TREATY

"Messrs. Galt and Howland are now at Washington using their best endeavours to secure a continuance of the present Reciprocity Treaty, or to negotiate for another. So far as we can learn their mission does not promise to be very successful. The American Government appear determined either to annul the Treaty altogether or exact from us conditions neither just nor politic.

We regret sometimes that our Government has displayed so much anxiety in regard to this Treaty. These numerous missions to Washington, and the many other attempts that have been made to secure its continuance all go to confirm our neighbours in the belief that we look upon the Treaty as all-important to our commercial existence, and would be willing to make almost any sacrifice sooner than forego its advantages. Every effort made emboldens them to demand greater concessions on our part and to act imperatively in the matter.

The Treaty has been of advantage to the United States as well as Canada, and it is high time they were unmistakably informed we can prosper without its provisions. Many further concessions on our part would be purchasing its advantages at entirely too dear a rate, and if they will not be satisfied with what is just and fair we might as well give up the

beggarly attempt first at last."

It might be interesting to note how the editor's view is borne out by a modern historian. "It was a mutual benefit; but through some mistaken view, or narrow trade policy, the United States refused to continue the treaty after the year 1866. Its cessation created a considerable derangement of trade between the two countries, but the compulsory development of many branches of home industry by Canada has given a self dependence and energy to Canadians." (A Short History of the Canadian People, by George Bryce.)

The question of confederation was no longer a vital issue in Canada West, as our province was then called, but the interest was centred in the Maritime provinces, where the advocates of confederation were labouring to have the scheme adopted by their respective govern-

ments. It will be noted that it was believed that Newfoundland would form one of the provinces of the new Canada.

"There appears to be good evidence that the Eastern Provinces are inclined to reconsider their rejection of the Confederation scheme. New Brunswick, we are informed, is about to intimate its acceptance, and a coalition Ministry is promised, having this as the specific object of its formation. In Newfoundland both branches of the legislation have accepted the plan decided upon at Quebec. Let Nova Scotia follow the example, and our projected "new nationality" will soon be realised." (Mar. 8)

The abrogation of the reciprocity treaty revived the disputes over the fisheries along the Atlantic seaboard, which were to be settled five years later by the treaty of Washington.

#### THE FISHERIES

"From a private letter recently received from Ottawa, we are informed that at the seat of Government more trouble is apprehended from the position of the Fishery question than from all the blather and threats of the Fenians. One of the most prolific sources of dispute between the British Government and that of the United States for many years, has been in regard to the rights of fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Bay of Fundy, and other points on the coast of the Maritime Provinces. It is known that some of the most valuable fisheries in the world for mackerel and cod are along the shores above mentioned, and the profits connected with them have

been earnestly coveted by our American neighbors.

By the law of nations each country is allowed to have exclusive jurisdiction over those waters lying within three miles from its own land, and in reference to this point there has been but little grounds of dispute when the American fishermen were excluded from these limits; but the great source of difficulty has been in regard to the inlets and bays where the headlands have not been over three miles apart. These the British Government has claimed as part of its territory, and this claim has been re-

sisted by our neighbors, who have contended on the other hand that so long as they were not fishing within three miles of the coast they had a right to do so, even though they were compelled to pass thro' British waters to reach these grounds.

This question has been dealt with by several treaties between the two governments, but no satisfactory understanding has been arrived at in reference to the inlets and bays, and on several occasions

collisions were imminent in consequence.

According to the provisions of the Reciprocity Treaty. American citizens were granted the privilege of fishing in these Provincial waters, and consequently the troubles in regard to the fishery question have ceased to exist during the past years. The abrogation of the Treaty has opened up the question, and now that these privileges have been so long enjoyed, the contention will probably become keener than before. With such a valuable source of wealth before their eves, the Americans are very reluctant to let the opportunity slip, and we doubt not that every means will be used to evade the restrictions placed upon them. Government appear determined, however, to that our rights are not encroached upon, and some weeks ago a proclamation was issued warning all foreigners not to infringe on our territories for fishing purposes, and it is intended during the season to keep vessels along the coast with power and instructions to keep off invaders.

Not to be outdone in this manner, the United States have ordered some war vessels and a monitor to the same waters to see to it that their citizens shall be fully protected. What the result of these demonstrations and counter demonstrations may be it is difficult to tell, but it is easily seen that with so many questions of dispute as will doubtless arise, and with armed vessels on either side, ready to resent any grievance, real or imaginary, and with a hostile feeling alreadly in existence between the two parties, it will be an easy matter to drift into difficulties that may lead to serious results. There are not a few among the Americans that would gladly see hostilities between the two countries, and it will re-

quire prudence and skill on the part of the better classes of the community to avert such a calamity.

At this time the United States were passing through a very trying period of reconstruction. Some of the perplexing questions were the restitution of the political privileges of the Southern States, the treatment of the freed slaves, the trial of the rebel leaders. The editor gives a summary of some of the difficulties in an editorial of April 19th.

#### **AFFAIRS AT WASHINGTON**

"The position of affairs in the United States is becoming still more critical,-Peace has been declared, but harmony does not yet prevail. At present hostilities are confined to a war of words. The difficulties between President Johnson House of Representatives and the Senate are of such a character that it is not easily seen upon what terms a compromise can be effected between them. President Johnson's policy appears to be to allow South to enter at once into all their former privileges and liberties, giving full permission for the regulation of all state laws and institutions. The Legislature, on the other hand, appear determined to treat the rebels as a vanquished people, and to lay down pretty strict regulations for their future guidance, refusing to allow them their former privileges until these are asserted to and complied with.

As might be expected, the negro is the great source of all the difficulty.—The Legislature claims that his position shall be clearly defined by the Federal Government, while the President insists upon it that each state must be allowed to deal with him as it may deem best. To define his position two acts were passed by the Legislature, known respectively as the Freedman's Bureau, and the Civil Rights bills. Both these were rejected by the President, but the latter has become the law of the land, in spite of his veto, by virtue of its having received the assent of two thirds of the Legislators.

The President has just issued a Proclamation declaring the war at an end, and that consequently the States lately in rebellion are now entitled to all their former privileges again. This the Legislature

denies by refusing to allow the representatives from those states seats in their body. How this difficulty is to be determined time will soon show.

These differences of feeling and policy have brought about much personal animosity. President Johnson on his part has, in a public speech, declared his opponents to be traitors as great as those vanguished on the battle field, and leaves the impression that he would gladly have them treated as such. His friends are hinting in plain terms that it is high time that. Cromwell like, he should them away about their business, and take the full reins of power in his own hands. The leading Republicans declare on the other hand that the President should be impeached and deposed from power. Of course there is a middle class between these two extremes that would gladly reconcile these difficulties if they could, but it is doubtful whether their wise councils will prevail.

There are strong arguments to be used by each party in support of the views respectively held. The Democrats urge that these States cannot longer be kept out of the Union without violence to the constitution. From the beginning the Federal government desired that any State could leave the Union, and this point having been conceded it is contrary to the constitution to withhold from them any of the privileges which the Union confess; and that if they are now kept out by the action of the Federal Government, they may remain out by their own act. The Republicans reply that war was declared and waged in consequence of slavery; and until it is thoroughly eradicated, and that with the consent of the conquered, peace cannot be fully proclaimed again.

The Proclamation just issued will have the tendency to establish the United States courts again in each of the States, and we may therefore expect that Jefferson Davis, Clay, and others who have long been kept in prison, charged with high treason, will receive their trials, or be set at liberty. Certainly it is high time that something should be done with them. It is not just to them or to the people that they should be longer kept. If they are guilty,

punishment should be as prompt as possible, if innocent they are entitled to liberty."

One of the most important achievements of the year was the laying of the Atlantic cable. The editor very rightly applauds as one of the wonders of the age a convenience to which we have grown so accustomed that we take it quite for granted. Before this the European news in the Standard was always headed "arrival of the City of Paris" or whatever might be the name of the ship that brought the despatches. Now there is a proud heading in very heavy type "By Atlantic Cable."

# ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH (Aug. 16)

"The Atlantic telegraph cable is now in beautiful working order and messages are being daily transmitted. The cable between Newfoundland and the main coast, which has been for some time out of order, has been repaired, so that despatches between England and America are subject to no delay.

As an evidence of the rapidity with which news is now transmitted we may state that on Tuesday news that was published in the Paris Moniteur in the morning was sent to London, and thence by Atlantic cable, and republished in our Canada papers the same afternoon!—Truly this is an age of wonders.

The Great Eastern is now coaling and preparing for her voyage to pick up the lost end of the last years' cable so as to complete its laying, and will go to sea in a day or two."

An attempt had been made the year before to lay the cable, but it had to be abandoned when the cable broke in mid ocean. The finding and splicing the ends of the cable was successfully accomplished in 1866, after the second cable was in operation.

# THE LOST CABLE (Sept. 6)

"To us it appears that the fact of the broken and lost cable of last year being again recovered, and likely to be successfully complete, is a far greater marvel of science than anything else that has occurred during the nineteenth century. Had it been successfully laid without misfortune a year ago it would have been one of the wonders of the age, but greater still is the achievement of completing it under the extremely unfavourable circumstances that had to be contended with.

That a small wire, of but few inches in diameter lost in midocean, thousands of miles from shore, or any land mark, without anything to indicate the spot where it lay and with no means of ascertaining but from observations taken from the stars of heaven, should be gone to, months after it was lost, and successfully picked up, from near two miles under the surface, speaks volumes for the progress of human science. We wonder, taking it all together, whether the world has yet witnessed such a triumph of human skill as the successful working of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable of 1865."

Those Maritime provinces that had been induced to reconsider their first rejection of the confederation plan had already sent delegates to England. In the Standard of October 11, we learn that representatives from Canada too were on their way to lay the proposal before the Brit-

ish Parliament.

#### **DELEGATION TO ENGLAND**

"At last we are informed that our Government has arranged to send delegates to England, to confer with the Imperial Government, and with the delegates from the Eastern Province in regard to the details of the Confederation scheme. As the other delegates have been there for a couple of months we have many times wondered why ours were not sent before this time, but there may be sufficient reasons that we know not of .- Messrs. McDonald and McDougall are to represent Upper Canada, and Cartier and Langevin the Eastern Province. It is understood that as soon as they arrive in England they will at once apply themselves to the task of arriving at a satisfactory arrangement in regard to the Confederation matter, and in case success crowns their efforts, a measure will be introduced into British Parliament, in January, to confirm and consummate the whole scheme. In that case our Parliament will not be convened again; and we may expect to be called upon before many months to elect representatives for both the Confederate and the Local Legislatures. As Lennox and Addington are now divided into two constituencies, and as each county will have two posts to fill, some new men will be required for the purpose, and it would be wisdom on the part of our people to be looking about them for some good men and true to fill these important situations."

When we turn to the consideration of domestic affairs, we find that the editor shows just as shrewd judgment. The picture he draws of the thoroughfares of Napanee in his time is more interesting than attractive, and it is strange to note the keen dread of the cholera, a disease almost unknown in Canada now, thanks to the progress made along the very lines advocated by the editor.

# THE CHOLERA (Mar. 8)

"We observe by our exchanges that in almost every city and town in the Province the inhabitants are making arrangements to do what they can, to make preparations to mitigate as far as possible the ravages of the cholera, should it visit our shores during the coming summer. It has existed during the last year in almost every European country, and already some cases have been reported on this continent, and it is not therefore probable we shall be able to escape its visit during the present season. ing such a timely forewarning we have plenty of opportunity to take every precaution against it and thereby save ourselves from much of its fatality. We do not intend just now to throw out any suggestions in regard to what means should be resorted to. but merely wish to call the attention of our authorities to the subject. The spring is now upon us, and warm weather will soon set in, and it is high time that the "Town Fathers" of Napanee should begin in earnest to see that every effort will be made to spare the lives and health of our citizens. kind of filth should be removed from our lanes and by-places, and yards and cellars should be thoroughly cleansed. It is high time too that a word should be said about the pig-styes, slaughter-houses, and such like places, from which fevers and other diseases are generally spread. While our pen is running we would beg leave to suggest that some little efforts should be made this year in regard to the annoyances that almost every inhabitant has heretofore felt from the unrestricted liberty granted to the hordes of hogs, geese, cows and dogs that have been permitted to roam about our streets, and commit every kind of annoying depradations that their inclinations may suggest. A people so highly taxed as ourselves for municipal purposes ought to derive some further benefits from our municipal government."

# **OUR STREETS (Aug 2.)**

"Many, and we think, well founded complaints are made against our town Council for the filthy manner in which our streets are allowed to remain. In no town of the same pretentions in any part of the province have we seen the principal streets in such a disorderly condition as those of Napanee. At this the most sickly season of the year, when every precaution should be taken not to allow any filth to accumulate, the sides of our streets in many places are puddles of water and mud, and this just in front of the doors of some of the principal places of business, only to dry up by the natural course of evaporation.

We wonder, too, that our principal street should be used as a general depository for the offal and sweepings of every shop whose occupant has not tidiness enough about him to otherwise dispose of his rubbish. No where else hardly will one see the fronts of the shops of the principal street made a depository for packing boxes, salt barrels, stench producing hides, bushes, and whatever else it may be convenient to throw in it. We wonder that shop owners themselves have not more taste, but lacking this, it is the duty of our Council to instruct its officers to see to it that some respect shall be paid to the ordinary rules of decency and cleanliness.

We have felt reluctant to speak in regard to this matter, hoping that some time our officials would take it in hand, but being urged so frequently to it, we call their attention to a fact which appears to have entirely escaped their notice, and sincerely hope that all further cause of complaint will be speedily removed.

The reprehensible practice of allowing all kinds of wares, especially edge tools, to be hung over the side walks or in exposed places should also be prevented.—The sword of Damocles was but little more dangerous than some of these man traps that we might mention. The writer speaks of these from his own experience. One day last week two scythes suspended on a nail just over the side walk fell on his devoted head, and the good fortune of one falling back downwards, across his neck, saved him a severe gash, and the owner a heavy bill of costs." When the County Council refused to help in the

erection of a drill shed for the new volunteer companies, the editor vigorously denounced the short-sightedness of their action. Could he have foreseen it, his counsel was not to prevail until 1914.

# A DRILL-SHED (Sept. 20)

"It will be seen by our published report of the proceedings of the County Council that the application made for a grant to assist in erecting a Drillshed here has been rejected—only five members voting in its favour. We regret that such a decision has been made, and we think that a majority of the tax-payers of the county will join us in this regret.

If the events of the last year have taught us any thing they have demonstrated the imperative necessity there exists in making every endeavour to develope our own sources of defence, by giving every encouragement to our Volunteer Companies to become thoroughly drilled and disciplined, so that when their services may be required they will be ready for the emergency. Throughout the whole country Lennox and Addington obtained an unenviable notoriety, in June last, for its apparent apathy in regard to the protection of our homes and our country, and we fear that, unless our county officials manifest more liberality than they have yet shown, we will be but little better prepared when the necessity again arises; for it must be evident to

every one that without a good Drill-shed the volunteers drill here must soon be virtually at an end for months to come.

There are now a number of companies in this vicinity, and to their credit it can be said that they have made no small sacrifice to endeavour to prepare themselves for efficiency by a thorough drill. Young men are now in the habit of coming regularly several miles here to drill, after having laboured hard during the day, and it is well known that during the long winter evenings there will be much more time and leisure for this desirable purpose, but drilling will be impossible without suitable shelter from the severity and inclemency of the weather. It is well known that there is not now any building in the county suitable for a battalion drill and unless such is provided the sacrifice, labour, and expense already incurred will be almost entirely lost, and those who have come nobly forward and volunteered will be discouraged at the anathy manifested.

Recognizing the necessity there is in every locality for Drill-sheds, the government has made provision to assist in their erection, by doubling the amount of money raised by the local authorities for that purpose. Our Town Council voted the sum of \$500 to assist in such an erection here, and Mr. Cartwright, with his accustomed liberality, offered an eligible lot of land, gratuitously, for the site, and it was thought that, as the object was not a mere local one, the County Council would have no hesitation in granting a small sum necessary to secure for us a permanent building. That body must either have decided that the object was not worthy of their assistance, or that this municipality ought to incur In either case we must dissent the whole expense. from their conclusion. It is useless to argue that a Drill shed is not a necessity, if our Volunteers are worth the keeping at all, for that is well known; neither is it just to place the whole burden upon Napanee, for the object is not one of mere local im-The building is designed for the whole County, as it would be unreasonable to expect one in every locality where a company has been formed. Its great necessity is to drill the companies together as a Battalion, and this would include not those of this municipality alone.

If the County Council has thought the tax-payers would not cheerfully bear the small additional amount of taxation that such a grant would involve, we question whether it has an adequate idea of the people's liberality. Who is there that would object to an outlay of a few shillings— for this is all that it would amount to on each individual—for the patriotic purpose of assisting to defend our noble Province against the invasion of its enemies? We trust that this matter will yet be reconsidered, and that a more liberal spirit will be shown next time."

It would be difficult to find a more fitting conclusion than the editor's remarks on Thanksgiving, printed on Dec. 20th, 1866.

## **THANKSGIVING**

We had entertained the hope that in consideration of the great mercies and blessings with which our country has been favored during the present year, the Governor would have issued his proclamation appointing a day of national thanksgiving the Father of mercies, but the year has so far gone that there is no probability such will be done. We exceedingly regret this, for in no year has the hand of providence been more visible in our protection than in that just drawing to a close. Menaced as we were at the beginning of this year with a formidable invasion, for which thousands have been expended, and great preparations were made, and in which so many were eager to join, even the most brave saw there was great danger, and but little probability that the effort would result in so little disaster Had not the hand of providence interposed in our behalf, and brought to conclusion the bloody designs of these wicked men, who does not feel that though they might have been vanquished and driven back again, yet it would have been a serious calamity to ourselves. Trace the history those designs from their beginning to their failure and conviction is irresistible that our cause was defended by more than human wisdom. The immunity with which we have escaped the dire ravages of the cholera, that threatened us at the beginning of this year, is a great cause of thankfulness. In various parts of Europe, in England, and near by us in the United States, thousands of families have been bereaved by its ravages; but here, with the exception of a very few cases, the cup of sorrow has been directed to pass by. The year has been one of unusual good health—a subject for profound gratitude.

The commercial prosperity of the year has not been among the smallest of our blessings. Twelve months ago our commercial prospects were not so cheerful as at the beginning of many former years. The Reciprocity Treaty, that appeared so necessary to our prosperity, was about to be abrogated; the close of the war in the United States threatened to bring with it many of those commercial evils that always follow a period of inflation; and the great financial crisis in England, that swept down many a house of long and honorable standing, all threatened us with more than usual misfortunes.

But notwithstanding all these things Canada has enjoyed a year of its greatest prosperity. An abundant harvest was given us, new openings for our trade were presented, prices have been remunerative; and at no time has our business relations at home and abroad presented a more cheering aspect.

Peace, health, and prosperity—all God's choicest blessings to any nation—demand our national thanksgiving, in a national way; and we deem it the duty of our government to set apart a day for this special purpose. Several of our churches have set apart and duly observed a day of Thanksgiving, but this was merely because there was none appointed for the whole land. If we claim to be a Christian nation, in which God is honored, and His blessings recognized, we should not fail to acknowledge it in a national manner.









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